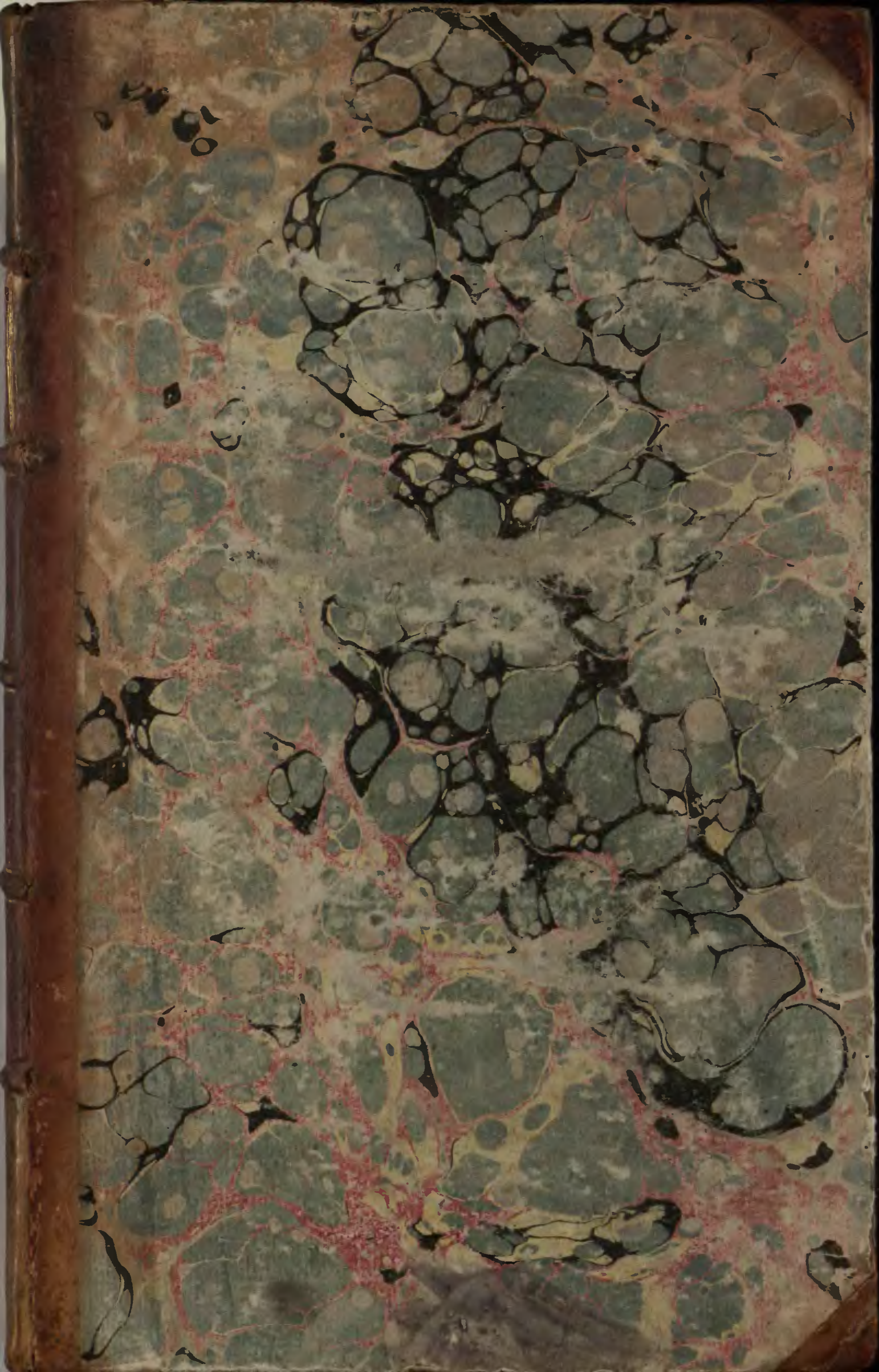
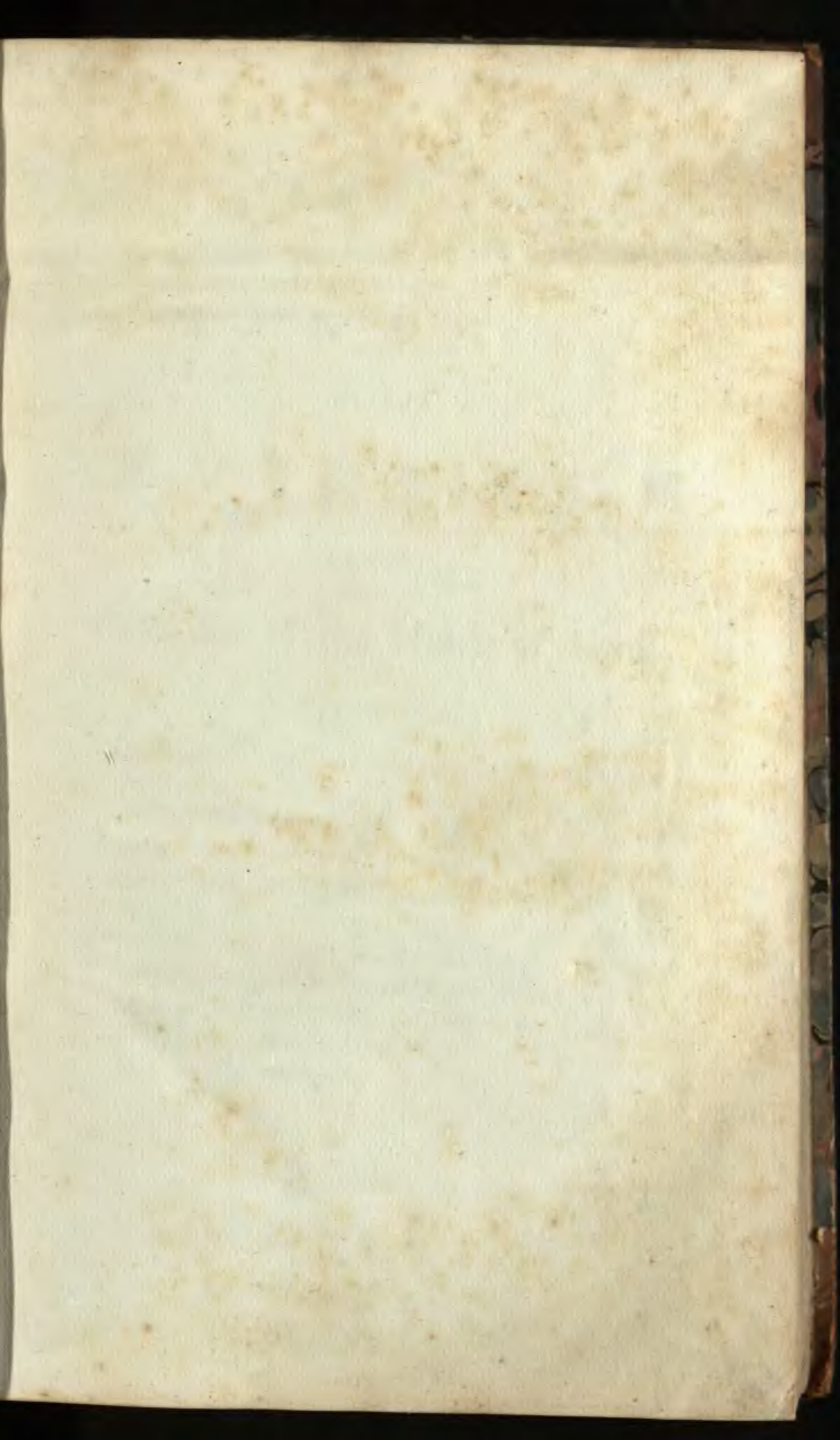
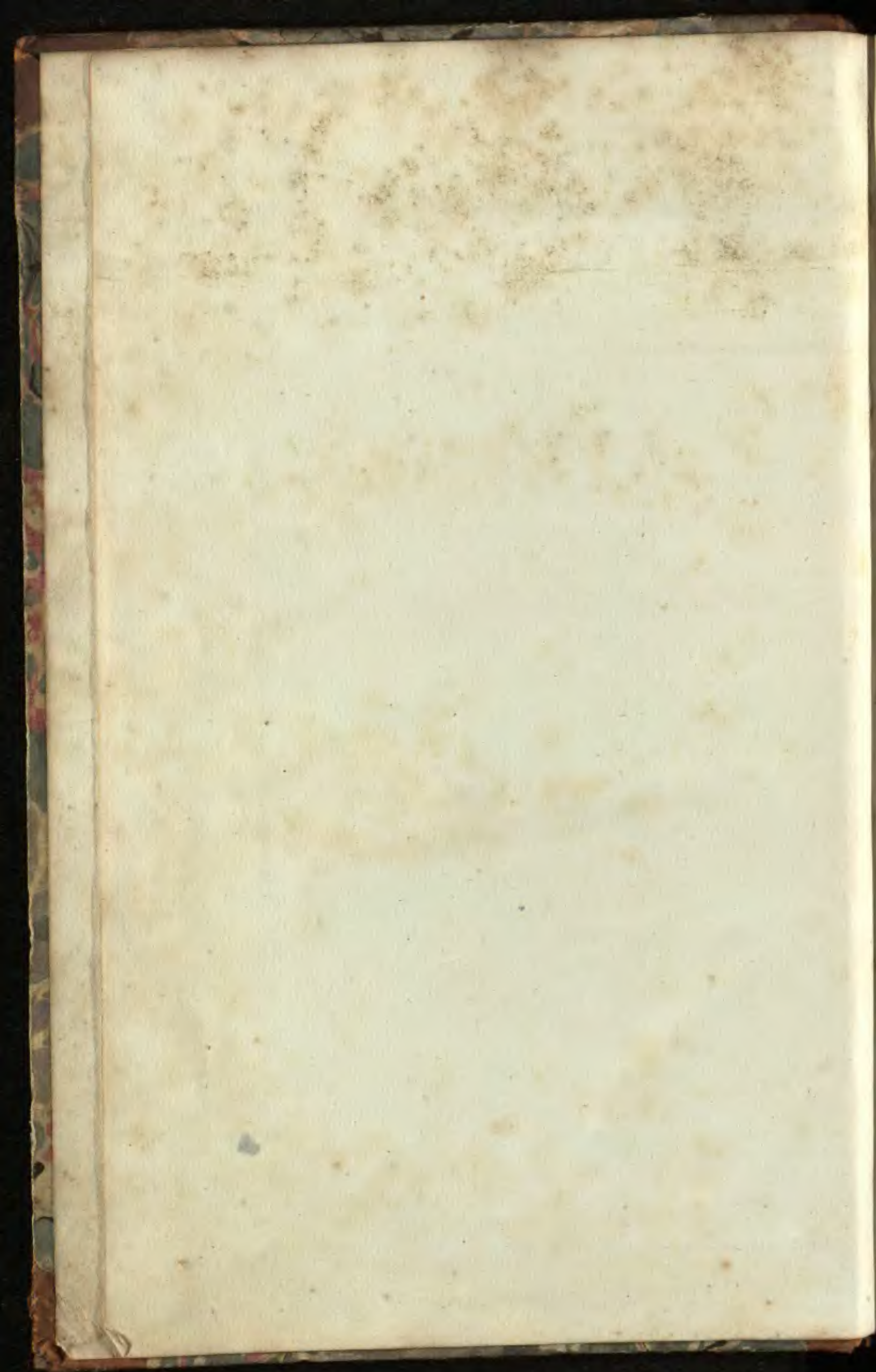


MINUTES
SLAVE
TRADE



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M I N U T E S
OF THE
E V I D E N C E

TAKEN AT
The Bar of the House of Lords,

UPON THE
Order made for taking into Consideration the present State of the Trade to AFRICA, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the WEST INDIA Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the WEST INDIA Colonies to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in Support of their Petition against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

MINUTES, &c.

Die Lunæ, 14^o Maij 1792.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into Consideration Slave Trade. the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West-India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the West-India Colonies to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House in support of their Petition, presented to the House on the 3d of this Instant May;

It was moved, That the Petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, interested in the British Sugar Colonies, whose Names are thereunto subscribed;

Also,

The Petition of the Merchants, Traders, and Ship Owners, concerned in the African Slave Trade from the Port of London, whose Names are thereunto subscribed;

And also,

The Petition of the Merchants, Traders, and others, Inhabitants of Liverpool, whose Names are thereunto subscribed, severally presented to the House this Day against the Abolition of the Slave Trade, be again read.

The same were accordingly read by the Clerk.

Ordered, That the Petitioners be heard at the Bar of the House by their Counsel presently in support of their said Petitions.

Counsel were accordingly called in;

And Mr. Law and Mr. Dallas appearing as Counsel for the several Petitioners,

Mr. Law was heard to open the Allegations of the Petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, interested in the British Sugar Colonies.

Then the Right Honourable GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY being called in, was sworn at the Bar.

He was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Ordered, That the House do proceed to take into further Consideration the present State of the said Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same, on Monday next; and that the Lords be summoned.

Die Lunæ, 21^o Maij 1792.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into further Con- Slave Trade.
sideration the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance, of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West-India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the several Petitioners to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in support of their Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

Counsel were accordingly called in. Then the Right Honourable GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY was again called in, and examined as follows:

How long was your Lordship resident in the island of Grenada?

I landed in the island of Grenada in the beginning of May 1776, and I remained there till the beginning of July 1779, when the island was taken by the French.

In what capacity did you reside there, during that period of time?

As Governor of the island of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago: The style of the commission is, Captain General and Commander in Chief, and Vice Admiral.

Had your Lordship an opportunity of observing the general treatment of the Negro Slaves by their masters?

I had no plantation myself, and usually resided in the town; but I frequently made excursions into the country, and among the gentlemen whom I knew. I observed that the treatment of their Slaves was in general very mild and humane, as far as my observation went.

Did the Slaves, in general, appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

As far as I saw, certainly.

Did it appear that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

I think not; far from it.

B

Comparing

Comparing the situation of a Slave with that of a labouring man in this country, did they appear to have to perform nearly the same quantity of labour?

I do believe, that, in general, the labouring men of this country labour full as much, if not more, than the Negroes in general.

Did the Slaves, upon the whole, as far as you had an opportunity of observing, appear to be contented and satisfied with their condition?

No murmurings or discontent ever reached my ears.—I doubt not, however, that many might have been discontented, or have murmured.

But speaking of their condition in general, as far as you observed, did they appear to be satisfied with that condition?

I believe just as much so as the mass of most people in general, in most other countries.

Examined by the Lords.

What quantity of uncultivated land is there in Grenada and in the Grenadines which, in your judgment, might be capable of cultivation?

I really cannot answer that question precisely.

But as nearly as your judgment will go?

I believe, in general, few of the estates in Grenada and in the Grenadines were fully handed.

Whether fresh land can be broken up and cultivated without an additional number of Slaves over and above what are upon the island?

I do not, at present, know the number of Negroes upon the island of Grenada.—When I was there, I think the number amounted, as nearly as I can recollect, to about 33,000; which certainly was a very small number, considering the produce of the island, compared with other islands.

What number do you think would have been a full complement for that island?

I really cannot say; but I believe the island of Barbadoes, which, in my time, did not produce, as I have been informed, above eight or nine thousand hogsheads of sugar, had 77,000 Negroes paying the poll tax.

When

When you speak of certain estates that you think were not fully handed, do you recollect what the deficiency of hands was upon any one or more of those estates?

I do not; I lost all my papers, together with every thing else, at the capture of the island; so that, from my memory alone, I cannot speak. If I had had my papers, I could have given a very precise answer; but at present, it is not in my power.

Do you know how many Negroes it requires to cultivate an acre of sugar land?

That must depend upon the nature of the land; some land is more easily cultivated than others.

Upon that land which is most easily cultivated, what number of Negroes would it require?

I mentioned before, that I never had any estate myself; and consequently I am but an incompetent judge of the oeconomy of a plantation: but I have heard, that one good Negro was equal to the production of a hoghead of sugar per annum. How far my information was accurate or not, I cannot pretend to say.

What is the general average produce, *per acre*?

I do not know.

Whether you think, that the general number of births in Grenada and in the Grenadines would be sufficient for the cultivation of those islands, independent of any fresh importation of Negroes?

I have been informed not.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Then JOHN GRANT Esquire was called in; and being sworn, was examined as follows:

How many years have you resided in the West Indies, and in what parts of the West Indies?

I resided upwards of twenty-one years in the island of Jamaica, and never was in any other of the West India islands.

What situations did you fill whilst you resided in the island of Jamaica?

When I went first to Jamaica, I was appointed an agent for a gentleman in that country, who had three or four estates in Jamaica; and I was further employed by others in the same way: and I continued in that kind of employment for about ten or eleven years. In the year 1783, I was appointed Chief Justice of the

the island; I then gave up that kind of employment, but I still held some estates in trust under wills and family settlements, and still hold some in that way.

Whether you have, at present, any estate of your own upon that island?

I have no estate of my own, and never had: I have a house in which I lived in Spanish Town, which I have ordered to be sold: I don't know but it is sold now, and I have an annuity from an estate in right of my wife.

Whether in the situations which you have filled, and from the time you have resided in that island, you have had sufficient means of knowing, whether there exists a necessity for Slaves for the purpose of carrying on the cultivation of that island?

I think that there is no other mode of cultivating that island than by the labour of Negroes: Europeans, or any other White inhabitants, beyond all doubt, are unable to perform the field labour of that country; they cannot stand the labour of that country.

Do you know, whether any experiments have been made in order to ascertain, whether Whites, or people of European constitutions, are equal to the performance of that labour?

I do not know, of any general experiment for carrying on the labour of a plantation with White people within my own knowledge; but I have heard, that a Mr. Bathurst has made the attempt, (it is merely matter of report and tradition,) to plant canes and to do plantation labour with White men, and that they all perished in a very short time. I mention it as a report current in the island; passing through the estate, it has been often shewn to me. I have heard too of a colony sent by the French to Cayenne upon the Main, consisting of Acadians from Nova Scotia, and some Germans; and that they in a very short time perished. I also can say, that I have known plowmen there, who are the only people, to my immediate recollection, who work in the open air (*sub-dio*); and that they were generally unable to perform the work. They attended mornings and evenings, for the purpose of instructing some of the most sensible Negroes; but in the heat of the day they generally retired to the houses; and when they have from zeal staid longer than was required of them, they generally became sick, and some of them died.

Whether you conceive it practicable to keep the islands in their present state of cultivation, without further supplies of fresh Negroes?

I think that it is not practicable to keep up the labouring strength without

without fresh recruits of Negroes. In all my experience, I know not of one estate that has increased; not one that kept up its number: but I have known some to lose from one to two, three, and four per cent. and some as high as five per cent.

In what space of time?

Annually: the extreme was five, and even six per cent. on some occasions—not generally. I have known them for a year lose about ten per cent. not for any particular length of time, from epidemical diseases: this has been in particular years, perhaps in one year, but not generally.

Do you, when you speak of these numbers, speak of them as average years?

No; only as numbers that have happened upon particular years.

Do you mean to deliver any account of an average decrease upon any one estate, year by year?

I cannot give any particular account. When I left Jamaica, I expected to return. My papers were left there; and I have not materials from which I can form calculations. But in Jamaica I have often seriously reflected upon the decrease; and to the best of my belief, taking all descriptions of estates, I would state the average to be between two and three per cent. annually.

Do you form that average upon all the number of years during which you resided in Jamaica, or upon any other, and what different proportion of them?

That is the general average, to the best of my belief and understanding, throughout the whole portion of the time; taking into consideration, that some years, owing to hurricanes, and to other calamities, the decrease was greater than in other years.

Are you able to form a judgment of what will be the effect, upon the cultivation of the island of Jamaica, if further supplies of Negroes should be prohibited?

I think the produce of the island will necessarily decline, and that it will occasion discontent among both White and Black inhabitants. Many of the small planters involved in debt, who are the most numerous class, will, I think, be unable to carry on their estates, and to pay their creditors. I think that they will be the first to suffer; their property, and their Negroes especially, will fall into the hands of the more opulent planters; and this will occasion a decrease of the cultivation. I think, that by the decrease of cultivation, there will be less employment for White people, and that in that respect there will be a depopulation, which will sink the strength
C
of

of the militia, and increase the dangers to the remaining inhabitants. I think the Blacks will be discouraged, when they find the assistance to their labour cut off; for they always rejoice on the arrival of ships, and are pressing their masters to buy new Negroes. I think this will discourage them, and render them more disposed to revolt.

Can you form a judgment, what average number will, in that case, be necessary to keep up the stock of effective labour, considering that the Negro who dies may be an adult person, and fit for the labour of the field, and that the Negro who replaces him may be an infant; what number, added to the average of two, three, and a fraction, per cent. will be necessary, in order to keep up the stock of productive labour, at a given standard?

The condition of estates varies so much, that I do not feel myself competent to give any clear answer; but there is certainly a very considerable diminution of labouring strength on most estates, besides the diminution of numbers: and all I can say is, that to my own friends, I always recommended to have an addition of Negroes to make up for both those decreases, of four or five per cent. annually; and if I had an estate of my own, I should think it prudent to afford it a supply for both purposes, of about five per cent.

Are you able, from your observation of the treatment of the Slaves in Jamaica, in respect to their food, their clothing, their lodging, their medical assistance, the lands allotted to them for their provision, their work, and their indulgences, to speak to these several subjects; and first, in respect to their food?

In Jamaica, with respect to their food, they are, in general, abundantly supplied, chiefly from lands allotted them, and which are cultivated by their own labour. There are times of scarcity, not only after hurricanes and great storms, but after droughts, and gales of wind that cannot be denominated hurricanes. When there is occasional scarcity, on such occasions, the planters buy flour, corn, rice, and every other article of provision to be found in the country; and it is usual to send for considerable quantities of flour, peas, beans, and bread, to this kingdom. This happens when after storms, though there may be provisions for a short time, for a few weeks, or a few months, a scarcity is expected; and this is to provide for that scarcity as expeditiously as the distance will allow. They have besides this, herrings supplied them upon all plantations, not so much as a material article of their food, as to correct the quality of the vegetable diet on which they live. They,

have

have also allowances of sugar made to them, and sometimes, of rum and water, when they are at work, and in rainy weather.

Whether they have any particular indulgences, in respect to diet, during the times of crop, when their labour is increased?

In the time of crop, they are allowed to take sugar and cane-juice, in considerable quantities; and, though the Negroes have at that time less sleep, I cannot consider it as the hardest work; it is always observed, that though they have less sleep during the time of crop, they are more fat and healthy.

Are they more cheerful during that period of increased labour?

I cannot speak as to that—at all times of their labour, even during the hardest, which I consider to be hoeing the canes, they are cheerful, when kindly treated.

Whether they have not, during the season of crop, particular indulgences, as to being at liberty to take such part of the cane-juice as they might wish, for their use, or to eat canes?

I have said that.

Upon the subject of diet, whether they have not provisions also in addition to those furnished them by their masters, which are raised upon the lands particularly allotted them for their subsistence, and of which they avail themselves, for their own maintenance, as well as for the purpose of sale?

Besides the lands allotted them, under the denomination of Negro Grounds, it is, by law, required, that every planter shall plant an acre for every ten Negroes, over and above their own grounds, to provide against occasional scarcity: and besides this, there is, upon every plantation, what is called the house-planting walk and grounds, for the purpose of the White servants, the maintenance of weak and infirm Negroes, and of such as are negligent of their own grounds.

In respect to clothing, what is the condition of the Negro inhabitants of Jamaica?

They are clothed once a year with Osnaburghs, and with coarse woollen baize or ratteen; the women have linsey-woolsey (I believe it is called), a kind of camlet petticoats: some of the Negroes have check allowed them for shirts; all have hats or caps, handkerchiefs, knives, and other little articles; and new Negroes are clothed oftener; as often as they require it, and so are the children.

Is the sort of clothing which you have stated, sufficient for the wants of the persons clothed?

I think, perfectly sufficient for the climate.

In respect to lodging, how are the Negroes treated?

They lodge in houses that are very convenient; that are sufficient—wattled, plastered, and thatched with cane tops or reeds; with cane tops generally.

Are these habitations sufficient to secure them against ordinary inconveniences of the weather?

I think so.

What medical assistance have the Negroes in cases of sickness?

A doctor is employed, generally upon every plantation, who visits twice or thrice a week, or oftener in times of great sickness: medicines are furnished and supplied on every plantation, at least that I have known; and there are flour, rice, wine, and other articles, according to the prescription of the doctor, for such as require a particular diet; and I have known animal food frequently allowed to Negroes much reduced.

Is there any remission of labour to the Negroes who are sickly?

They do not labour when they are sick.

Are they permitted to be absent from the ordinary field occupations at seasons when they are indisposed? is this attention paid to them in that particular?

Always when they are sick.

Are the Negroes permitted to take for their own benefit the produce of the provision lands, beyond what is necessarily consumed in their own immediate sustenance?

They are; and it is by the sale of that superfluity that the towns are chiefly supplied with vegetables, roots, and fruit; they have fruit trees many of them of their own property.

Do they breed poultry, and have they other articles of that sort?

Yes, they all have; every good, every industrious Negro has pigs and poultry.

Do they breed goats and other animals?

Goats not generally, because they are mischievous; but I have known them formerly to have horses and mares of their own; but that was found to enable them to go to a great distance to meetings, where

where it was apprehended they might conspire to revolt, and which might be injurious to their health from night ramblings; therefore they were prohibited from keeping horses; but whatever property of that species they had was sold, and the money was given to them.

In addition to the diet that you have stated, whether, besides salt provisions, they have not an adequate quantity of salt furnished them for their use?

Yes, they are constantly supplied with salt, as much as they chuse to have.

Is the quantity of labour required of the Negroes moderate, and such as their strength is fully equal to?

I conceive that their labour in general is moderate.

How are their hours of labour and rest divided, at ordinary times?

They go to the field by day-light, about five or six o'clock; they have from half an hour to an hour allowed them for breakfast, and two hours at dinner-time; and then they labour till sun-set in the evening.

Have they any stated holidays or days of rest?

They have a day once a fortnight throughout the year, except in crop-time, to work their own ground.

Is that day in addition to Sunday?

Yes; in many places they have the Saturday afternoon, especially in the neighbourhood of the towns: they have every Sunday throughout the year, and they have holidays at Christmas, Easter, and at Whitsuntide.

Then they have the usual holidays that are kept in this country, in addition to Sunday, and one holiday in a fortnight specially given them?

They have two holidays at Christmas, I think; but then the one must not immediately succeed the other; two at Easter, to the best of my remembrance; and one at Whitsuntide, I think.

Have they diversions permitted them?

They have diversions allowed them; but some of a warlike nature where great multitudes collect are forbidden, on account of the danger of their entering into conspiracies, which were conceived to have been formed in that manner in times of rebellion, when they have happened in the island.

What are the usual entertainments that are allowed them?

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Dancing,

Dancing, and feasting, and festivity; they entertain themselves with such as suits the custom of their country.

Does there appear to you to be as great a degree of cheerfulness amongst the Negro inhabitants of Jamaica, as is observable amongst the poor and labouring classes of mankind in this and other countries?

I think that they are indulged in festivity, to which they seem to me more addicted than the labouring class of people in this country.

Is the degree of labour required of the Negroes greater or less than is required, from ordinary labourers in other countries?

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the degree of labour in this country so as to say whether the labour is more or less; but I think their labour is not more in Jamaica than they can perform.

You have not stated the number of hours in which a Negro Slave is usually employed, in the course of the twenty-four hours, in the business of his master?

The days differ not much in length in that climate; I should think, one time with another, about ten hours, and sometimes a little less, and sometimes a little more; but there are many days, and parts of days, during what is called the rainy seasons, when they do not work at all; and it is not unusual in times of rain, when they are at work in the field, to call them off till the shower be over: in some places they have tents to which they retire; but that practice, I think, is not very general.

Are the corrections for misbehaviour moderate in general?

By the law of the country, correction is limited; the master, or his agent or overseer, is restrained to give no more at one time, or for one offence, than thirty-nine lashes, and under-servants are confined to give no more than ten.

Are the regulations upon that subject contained in the Consolidating Act of the year 1778?

Yes; they are.

That is an act consolidating all the statutes relating to Negroes?

Yes: but the master confines Negroes occasionally in the stocks. This punishment, that has been mentioned, of the thirty-nine lashes, is generally for neglect of duty and for petty offences; but I believe it is rare to go to the full measure of the law.

Whether you are not mistaken in the answer you have given, of one acre of land being allotted for the provision of every ten Negroes ; and whether the planter is not bound to make that provision of an acre for every four Negroes in his plantation ?

Then a Book was shewn to the Witness, and he said,

It is so in the act passed in Jamaica in the year 1788.

Do you know, in what manner the murder of a Black man by a White inhabitant of that island, is punished by the law of that island ?

By the present law, it is felony without benefit of clergy ; but till that law passed, the killing of a Slave, for the first offence, was manslaughter, and punished by imprisonment.

Is the system of laws in general of Jamaica, with a reference to the treatment of the Negroes by their masters, humane, and attentive to the protection of those Negroes ?

I think it is. While I was upon this head, I meant to state, from the law, how the Negroes are protected by punishments in other cases. The Negroes are protected by this law against violence to their persons, against violent beating of them : for beating them, persons are liable to be indicted. So also in cases of mayhem, an indictment lies, with fine and imprisonment ; and if, in the opinion of the court, the Slave is in any future danger of ill-treatment from his master, he is freed, and a fine of a hundred pounds is paid by the master to the parish, out of which the Slave is to have ten pounds a year for his maintenance. These, I think, are the leading points.

Whether you think it would be expedient, with a view to the island of Jamaica, to extend further the cultivation of the lands of that island ?

There is a great quantity of land in Jamaica capable of cultivation for sugar, cotton, coffee, and the other articles of produce of that island.

Are there lands, which are capable of this species of cultivation, still unsettled ?

A great deal still unsettled is fit for cultivation.

What is the gross number of acres of land in the island ?

About four million eight hundred thousand acres, I think.

Do you know, what proportion of this number of acres is in actual cultivation ?

I cannot

I cannot say nearly the quantity; but in general it is understood that about a million of acres may be in cultivation of one kind or another.

Is in fact in cultivation?

Yes; this was the general opinion.

How much of the remainder do you think, is capable of being brought into a state of cultivation, with advantage to the persons cultivating it?

I beg leave to correct myself; I would say, about six or seven hundred thousand acres are actually in cultivation, according to the best of my information.

You do not speak from your own knowledge?

No, I do not.

Is that the best information you was able to collect upon the subject in the several situations which you filled in the island, and during the time you resided there?

This is the result of my general information; I speak with great uncertainty, but to the best of my recollection.

Do you yourself know any land in the island now uncultivated, which, according to your observation and judgment of it, might be reduced into cultivation for sugar?

A great deal, I think; it appeared from the receiver-general's books, examined in the year 1789, that about a million and nine hundred thousand acres had been patented.

Please to explain what you mean by the word patented?

Granted by the crown upon the payment of a quit-rent: so that there must be upwards of a million of acres uncultivated according to my conjecture, a great part of which I know to be fit for cultivation; and it is to be presumed, as people pay quit-rent for the whole, that the greater part is fit for cultivation of one kind or other.

For what purposes do you think that that remainder could be beneficially cultivated? Could it be cultivated for sugar plantations as well as for the purposes of the supply and maintenance of the inhabitants of the island?

Partly for sugar; great part of it for what are called pens or grass farms, and other parts for the various articles that are the staple of the island.

Are

Are you of opinion that the export produce of Jamaica might be very considerably increased?

Greatly increased, I think; for besides the lands that are not settled, that are not broken up, most estates now in cultivation might, if they had a sufficiency of labourers, be made to yield much greater quantities of produce.

What are the particular species of produce which might be thus increased; enumerate their kinds?

Every article that is now raised in the island, I think might be raised there.

Would that increased cultivation necessarily require an additional number of Negro hands?

Undoubtedly.

Will the subsisting cultivation be checked, and the further cultivation prevented, by prohibiting the importation of more Slaves into the island of Jamaica?

I think without further occasional supplies, that the present cultivation will sink; and that the future cultivation without a proportionate supply of labourers cannot be carried on.

To what classes and description of persons would the Abolition of the Slave Trade be particularly injurious in these islands; and first, as to planters?

First, as to planters, on whose prosperity I conceive the advantages of all other descriptions of people depend, I think, the small planters would many of them be soon obliged to throw up their estates for want of labourers to carry them on to advantage; their Negroes might fall into the hands of the more opulent planters; but then that would be only to make up for the decrease of their own labourers or little more; all the merchants and mortgagees to whom debts are due, would lose a great part of them; annuitants, widows, and minors, who have no other property than what is in the island would, I think, be destitute — would be ruined.

Are not Slaves in many instances the subject of private family settlements?

They are in many cases entailed; some of them are entailed.

Is the person who has the present interest in them usually obliged by covenant to keep up the stock and number of the Negroes to a given standard?

I cannot say that it is so under entails generally, though there may be such covenants; but there are a great number of estates held

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by

by lease, and the lessees are under covenant generally to leave an equal number at the termination of the lease, or to make up the original value; and in other cases to make up for the deficiency of valuation.

Are Slaves by the law of Jamaica personal, or real property?

In Jamaica, Slaves are real estate with respect to inheritance, and personal estate with respect to creditors; so that Negroes go to the heir, subject to the debts of the ancestor.

Are they subject both to simple contract debts and to specialty debts equally, or only to specialty debts?

To all debts generally.

In case the importation of Slaves should be prohibited, so that any plantation should not be capable of being supplied with Negroes, would such plantation be rendered of little or no value to the proprietors of sugar plantations?

It would gradually decay; and land without Slaves is of no value, of no use to the proprietor.

You have mentioned, that the smaller class of planters would in the case of a prohibited importation of Slaves be compelled to surrender their Negroes to the more opulent?

The probable effect would be, that their estates would be brought to sale for the payment of their debts, their lands generally thrown up, and their Slaves bought by the more opulent planters.

In such case, would the value of the works and buildings upon their plantations be in general lost to them?

They would; the buildings would be generally lost to them.

Would not the preventing the importation of Slaves, have the effect likewise of diminishing the number of White inhabitants, necessary for the defence and protection of the island?

I think so; I have said so already; it would reduce the strength of the militia, and of course the means of defence to the island.

Who constitute the militia of the island?

The White inhabitants, with the free people of Colour, the Mulattoes, and free Negroes.

What are the particular advantages which result to this country from the trade with the West India Islands, and in what respect from the trade with the island of Jamaica in particular?

I conceive it greatly promotes the manufactures, the commerce, the navigation, and the revenues of this country.

In

In what respect would all these interests be prejudiced by the Abolition of the Slave Trade?

I conceive they would be all reduced proportionably to the reduction of the produce of the West Indies.

In Jamaica, for instance, can you assign the particular causes for the decrease in the population of this island? why they do not keep up their numbers? why the deaths exceed the births?—What are the particular causes?

They are various. I think the Negro women in that country do not breed so much as the labouring class in Europe. I think this is owing to premature and licentious intercourse with the other sex; to the diseases they contract from that promiscuous intercourse; to night ramblings, to which they are much addicted; to the long suckling of their children, which is often protracted to two years, and sometimes longer; and often to their viciousness in procuring wilful abortion. Of the children born, a great part die within the first fortnight of a disorder called the tetanus or locked jaw; of worms; and the yaws are particularly fatal in the after-stages of their infancy; and they are subject to the epidemical diseases of the small-pox, measles, and hooping cough, as in this country. Another cause is, the inequality of the sexes.

What is that inequality? what is the proportion between the males and females?

By the accounts of the importation of new Negroes, the proportion has been found, as five males to three females; that is the most general proportion.

How does that inequality affect population?

From an inequality of the sexes; of course there being fewer pairs, there will be fewer children born; and I think from the men being more in proportion than the women, that a decrease may be imputed to the prostitution of the greater number of women.

Is the disorder you first mentioned particularly malignant?

It is so in a high degree; the consequences of it often remain for life, and affect the constitution of the offspring.

Are there any other particular disorders; any local disorders to which the people of Jamaica are particularly subject, which decreases the population?

I have been hitherto speaking of women and children; but there is a great mortality among newly-imported Negroes, male and female; many of them are brought at an advanced period of life, and diseased;

cas'd; I conceive too, that they become more sickly after their arrival, from the confinement on board a ship, from scorbutic habits, and it is said from diseases, from venereal or other complaints being repelled; they are also very subject to the yaws, by which a great many of them are lost; to a disorder called dirt-eating; that is, eating a kind of earth, absorbent earth, which gives, as they conceive, some relief to acidities of the stomach; and I understand it to be a practice in their native country; some of the children by imitation eat dirt likewise, and a number of them perish from that cause; adults of all descriptions suffer much from epidemical fevers, such as pleurifies and epipneumonies.

Is there a species of leprosy to which the inhabitants are subject?

Yes; and epidemical fluxes. There are disorders besides the yaws peculiar to them; as leprosy of different kinds; elephantia, or swelling of the legs; and a disorder called cocobays, in which the joints fall off.

Are these the principal disorders to which the Negroes are subject?

So far as occur to me at present.

Is particular attention paid to encourage population in the island?

The utmost endeavours of the planters are used to raise children; I believe it is a main object of their attention.

Is any premium given to the overseer of plantations, upon raising of children upon the estates which they have in charge?

By the late law the overseer receives a premium of, I think, twenty shillings for every child raised, when there is an increase on the estate.

Is any public account kept, of the births and deaths of the Slaves on the estates in the island?

Accounts of the births and deaths are kept upon every plantation; the overseer is required once a year to give that account upon oath to the magistrate and vestry in the parish in which he resides, stating the causes of the death, to the best of his knowledge; and the doctors who attend the plantations are likewise required on oath to render such an annual account, specifying the complaints of which every Negro died within his practice.

And an account of the age?

The age appears generally by the overseer's account; not exactly the age, but whether the person were a child or adult.

Is

Is any inquest taken upon the bodies of persons who die suddenly?

Whenever a Negro dies suddenly, or otherwise than by causes manifestly natural, a coroner's inquest is constantly called.

A coroner's inquest is called regularly, as in England?

Yes; and his inquisition is returned to the clerk of the peace.

Is any particular care taken of old Negroes when they are past labour?

They have the same allowance as when they were able to work, as those who are able to work.

State in what manner the Negroes are treated; first, for petty crimes, and then for crimes of a higher denomination.

The Witness produced a Paper, and said,

I have in my hand the Consolidating Slave Act, passed in Jamaica in the year 1788, which specifies the various modes of trial, and other regulations in general for the government of Slaves, which, with permission, I would tender as a part of my evidence.

Is that law now in force?

That law is now in force.

Then the Witness read the Paper (a), after which the same was delivered in.

Are the Negroes in general as long lived as the White inhabitants of the island?

I think fully so.

What is the practice of the Island respecting the marriage of the Negro Slaves?

There is no marriage according to any established religion, or according to the usage of any country, that I have been in. Men take women, and abandon them, at their pleasure; and though the planters have used every encouragement to prevail on one man and one woman to keep together, it has in general been without success; for, in such cases, they will not submit to the exercise of any dominion of the master: there, they are perfectly free.

Would any means taken for the purpose of compelling them to live together, that is, of compelling one man to live with one wo-

(a) See the same at the End of this Day's Evidence.

man, be considered by the Negroes as a degree of tyranny exercised over them, according to their habits ?

It would produce the greatest discontent ; and I am perfectly convinced, that it would be impracticable to prevail on them to do so.

If I understood you right, you stated that the disproportion was nearly of five males to three females imported ?

Yes ; that is the general calculation.

Whether you mean, that this is the disproportion of males and females throughout the island generally, including those born in the island, as well as those imported ?

No ; among the natives of the island, the sexes are nearly in the usual proportion of generation, I conceive.

You have stated, that the killing a Slave is death without benefit of clergy ; if a White man were to kill a Black man in the presence of four, five, or of any other number of Slaves, whether those Slaves can be examined upon oath to prove the fact ?

Slaves are not admissible as witnesses against White or free people.

Is it to be understood by your answer, that if any White man kills, maims, or otherwise ill uses any Negro, there being no White people present, that there is no means by the law of that country of ascertaining the fact upon oath ?

Not unless there are witnesses privy to it.

I think you have said, it is exceedingly difficult to make a Black man and woman, when married, continue to live together afterwards ; whether any of the principles of the Christian religion are ever inculcated or promoted amongst these people ?

The Christian religion has made little or no progress amongst the Slaves ; but where a Negro desires to be christened, it is constantly granted to him.

Whether you recollect, during your being at Jamaica, that by encouraging in that country the births of children by the Slaves, some of the planters have nearly furnished their own plantations without purchasing any Slaves at all ?

I have heard of two or three estates at most ; but there may be more.

That by encouraging the breed of Slaves, have not wanted to go to market for the usual quantity of Slaves ?

They have increased their Slaves.

And bought less at market ?

Yes ; bought less.

Were

Were these large or small planters?

I believe they were of both kinds; there are a few others that nearly keep up their number; but taking these in, together with the estates throughout the island at large, to the best of my judgment and belief, there will be a general decrease of between two and three per cent.; and where they keep up their numbers, yet still without further purchases they cannot extend their cultivation.

Whether those planters who breed Slaves upon their own plantations, have entirely forsaken purchasing at the market, or whether they have only bought fewer?

That depends upon their cultivation; if they extend their cultivation they must purchase more.

Whether you know how many Negroes there are upon the island of Jamaica?

In the year 1789, the number was estimated at 250,000.

Do I understand you rightly, when I suppose you to have said, that out of that number three per cent. is the average of the decrease, upon a comparison of all the deaths with all the births in the island?

Between two and three per cent. upon the whole number.

Then suppose there were to be a decrease of 6,000 Negroes, do you suppose that those lands must cease to be cultivated, which were formerly cultivated by that number of Negroes, or must the additional labour fall upon the number of Negroes remaining in the island?

I conceive that the produce must fail, must diminish; and perhaps some planters in distress, trying to save themselves from the loss of their estates, might be induced to overwork their Negroes.

You stated, that if upon those estates where the breeding of Slaves had been particularly attended to, they should intend to increase their cultivation, it would be still requisite to purchase Slaves; whether upon those estates upon which either the proprietor of the estate, or the agent, has been so particularly attentive to the breeding and to the rearing of the Slave, you know any one estate whatever in the island of Jamaica, where there has not annually been a number of people bought; that is, whether it has not been found absolutely requisite still to purchase Negroes annually, for those very estates?

I have already said, that none of the estates have come within my own knowledge.—I will name the estates that I have heard of;

—there is an estate of Lord Dudley and Ward, which has always been mentioned as remarkable—there is another that belonged to the late Lady Hume, and I believe now to Lord Carhampton—and there is a third belonging to Mr. Philip Dehaney.

All in Jamaica?

Yes; Mr. Dehaney's I have only heard of since I came to England; whether they bought Negroes, I cannot tell of my own knowledge.

These estates you do not conceive have increased their cultivation?

No; they were under such particular circumstances, having but small quantity of land fit for cane; one of them, Lord Ward's, is circumscribed like a cock-pit by rocky boundaries, where a further extension of the cultivation, as I understand, was impracticable.

Upon any West-India estate, upon an estate in Jamaica, how many denominations of Slaves are there? or, to put the question more simply, how many denominations out of an estate do you appropriate to the house use, and how many to the field use?

The number of house Slaves in a plantation is very few, especially if the proprietor does not reside on it; and they are generally weakly people, and persons not fit for field labour. I suppose one estate with another, including the children of the house servants, that six or seven may be the number, and a great part of them children.

Taking any estate at a certain number, supposing there to be either three, four, or five hundred upon one estate; how many out of that estate do you suppose go regularly one day with another into the field?

It varies very much; some of the oldest settled estates having a great proportion of old and diseased Negroes, furnish a smaller number of labourers; I suppose, on estates pretty well handed, that there may be perhaps about a third of the whole that do some kind of work, including tradesmen; but for the efficient field Negroes employed in the laborious part of the work, I think generally about a fourth, as nearly as I can judge.

You have mentioned hurricanes; those hurricanes are sometimes partial, are they not?

They are.

If a partial hurricane should fall upon any of those estates which you have described, Lord Ward's and others, whether the possessors
of

of those estates could recruit the loss of Negroes which such partial hurricane would bring upon them, without importation?

Not, if many of the Negroes were destroyed.

Whether the lessees you have mentioned, who are bound by the conditions of their lease to keep up the number of their Negroes, can, generally speaking, fulfil their conditions without importation?

I think not possibly.

Are the Negroes, from their love of heat, and from the manner in which they bear it, particularly qualified for the labour required of them in Jamaica?

I think so; heat, instead of being an oppression, is highly desirable and salutary to Negroes, and it is from cold that they chiefly suffer.

Have you mentioned, that the Negroes have property?

Negroes have property; many of them have considerable property; almost all field Negroes have pigs and poultry.

Is that property taken from them by violence, or is it respected as it ought to be?

So far as I have ever heard, it is secured; I never heard of an instance of a master's taking away any part of Negro property; and when they die, their property, together with the grounds they hold from their master, go to their children, or relations; and if they have not relations, to the friends whom they distinguish by the name of shipmates; and it is invariably allowed to go according to their own destination.

Have you known many instances of Negroes returning from Jamaica to Africa?

I never knew of any.

Whether the children of Negroes, that are born in the Island of Jamaica, are, from their constitution, as equal to labour as Negroes that are imported?

I think so; when they are healthy.

Are they as healthy in general as those that are imported?

I think so.

Whether you ever knew of an instance of a murder, notoriously committed, which ever escaped unpunished for want of White testimony?

I have never heard of any untried.

G

Whether,

Whether, considering that there is the certificate of the overseer of the death of every person dying suddenly, and the certificate of the doctor, together with other White testimony to be obtained in the island, there is not generally sufficient evidence for the purpose of obtaining punishment against those who may have committed outrages upon the persons of Negroes?

I think few murders escape undetected through defect of evidence: for, besides the coroner's inquest, the return of the overseer, and, which I take to be a much greater security to the Negro, the account stated by the doctor as a check upon the overseer, there are on every plantation, generally, two or three White people besides the overseer: and I think therefore, that unless a man was wickedly to seek for concealment, there is very little probability of murder happening in which some White testimony cannot be had.

You have stated Lord Ward's estate as an estate that kept up its number of Negroes without importation, and you likewise stated the situation of the plantation as encompassed with rocks or rocky ground; whether that situation is not likely to remove one of the causes of depopulation, namely, the night rambles of the Negroes, and to prevent their rambling of a night?

No; I do not think it is of the kind to confine Negroes, from my idea of it.

Then what is the effect that its particular situation will have in keeping up this population?

It is reckoned to be remarkably healthy, all that district; it is in a retired situation.

Is not that a large estate?

Considerably large: I do not know its extent; but I believe it has about three hundred Negroes.

State some instances of trials of White persons, for cruelties and outrages committed upon the persons of Negroes, where convictions have been obtained.

When Negroes have been violently beaten, even before the act of 1788, under an idea of their being protected at common law as subjects, I remember one or two instances of indictments; and, in case of maihem, I have known very severe punishment inflicted upon a man of the name of Gillies, who, together with his wife, had barbarously treated a Negro girl, for which he was fined and imprisoned. I have also known of several trials for the killing of Slaves before the act of 1788, in which one person was condemned, but had the benefit of clergy, as the law at that time did not oust it—and some others

others that were acquitted. I knew of three convictions; but I have known of no conviction since the act of making it murder in the first instance: there may have been such, for I have been upwards of two years from the island.

In what cases is the evidence of a Slave admissible?

In all cases between Slaves, and for injuries done to personal property; in all cases, in fact, except against the persons of White and free people; the evidence of Negroes on every trial for and against Negroes is constantly received; in every trial except that which relates to violences committed on White people.

Whether you know how many inquests upon violent deaths have been found in any one year?

I cannot speak to the question; but I believe, that as often as any violent death happens, there is an inquest regularly held. I have known a great many; but as to the number I cannot take upon me to speak; it is a matter of daily practice.

Is there any register in which these inquests are kept?

These inquests are returned to the clerk of the peace for the district; and if any thing appears in them to call for prosecution, they are sent into the crown office.

Are you to be understood, that in no case whatever is the testimony of the Slave taken against a White person?

The testimony of a Slave is not admitted against a White man.

Is the testimony of Slaves in civil suits admitted against White men?

It is not.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Ordered, That this House do proceed to take into further Consideration the Present State of the Trade to Africa on Thursday next; and that the Lords be summoned.

A.

Anno 1788,
passed the 6th
day of De-
cember.

An Act to repeal an Act, intituled, "An Act to repeal several Acts and Clauses of Acts respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes;" and also to repeal the several Acts and Clauses of Acts which were repealed by the Act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating and bringing into one Act the several Laws relating to Slaves, and for giving them further Protection and Security; for altering the Mode of Trial of Slaves charged with Capital Offences; and for other Purposes.

Act 23.

WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of Slaves should be consolidated and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting Slaves: And whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to Slaves, that the mode of trial of Slaves charged with capital offences should be altered: And whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the hereinafter-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. An Act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this Island, intituled, "An Act for regulating Servants," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-one; also the 6th clause of an Act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, intituled, "A Supplemental and Explanatory Act," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-three; also the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, and 49th clauses of one other Act of the Lieutenant-governor, Council, and Assembly, intituled, "An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-six; also one other

Act, "for the more effectual punishing of Crimes committed by Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventeen; also one other Act, "for the Encouragement of voluntary Parties to suppress rebellious and runaway Negroes," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighteen; also one other Act, intituled, "An Act to inflict further and other Punishments on the Transgressors of Two several Acts, the one intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and the other intituled, An Act to prevent the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the Possessors, and for the preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagors and Tenants for Life or Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five; also one other Act, "to repeal Part of an Act, intituled, An Act for the more effectual Punishment of Crimes committed by Slaves, and to oblige the several Parishes to pay for all Negroes executed in each respective Parish," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty; also one other Act, "to explain and amend an Act, intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and the making free and rewarding a Negro named Hector, belonging to Thomas Fuller, Esquire, and paying his said Master the Value of the said Negro," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-four; also one other Act, "to inflict further and other Punishments on Runaway Slaves, and such as shall entertain them," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; also one other Act, "to amend an Act, intituled, An Act for the more effectual Punishment of Crimes committed by Slaves, and to oblige the several Parishes to pay for all Negroes executed in each respective Parish," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; also the 6th and 7th clauses of "An Act to prevent the clandestine killing and marking of Cattle, and for the better regulating of Hunting," passed in the said year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; and also an Act, intituled, "An Act to explain Part of an Act, intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for inflicting further and other Punishments on Persons killing Negroes or Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one; also one other Act, "to remedy the Evils arising from irregular Assemblies of Slaves, and to prevent their possessing Arms and Ammunition, and going from Place to Place without Tickets; and for preventing the Practice of Obeah; and to restrain Overseers from leaving the Estates under their Care on certain Days; and to

H

oblige

oblige all Free Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians, to register their Names in the Vestry Books of the respective Parishes of this Island, and to carry about them the Certificate, and wear the Badge of their Freedom; and to prevent any Captain, Master, or Supercargo of any Vessel bringing back Slaves transported off this Island," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty; also one other Act, "to explain and amend an Act, intituled, An Act to remedy the Evils arising from irregular Assemblies of Slaves, and to prevent their possessing Arms and Ammunition, and going from Place to Place without Tickets; and preventing the Practice of Obeah; and to restrain Overseers from leaving the Estates under their Care on certain Days; and to oblige all Free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, to register their Names in the Vestry Books of the respective Parishes of this Island, and to carry about them the Certificate, and wear the Badge of their Freedom; and to prevent any Captain, Master, or Supercargo of any Vessel, bringing back Slaves transported off this Island," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one; also, one other Act, "to repeal an Act, intituled, An Act for the more effectual preventing Negroes and other Slaves from deserting from their Owners, and departing from this Island in a clandestine Manner, and to punish such Persons as shall be aiding, assisting, or abetting such Slaves in their Escape; and for the more effectual preventing Negroes and other Slaves from deserting from their Owners, and departing this Island in a clandestine Manner, and to punish such Persons as shall be aiding, assisting, or abetting such Slaves in their Escape," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one; also one other Act, passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, intituled, "An Act to explain, alter, and amend an Act, passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves;" and also the 31st clause of an Act, passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, intituled, "An Act to repeal an Act, intituled, An Act to prevent the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the Possessors, and for the preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagees and Tenants for Life and Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves;" and also one other Act, intituled, "An Act to inflict further and other Punishments on the Transgressors of two several Acts, the one intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and the other intituled, An Act to prevent the enticing and inveigling of Slaves from the Possessors, and for

the preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagors and Tenants for Life or Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves;" and also one other Act, intituled, "An Act to repeal Part of an Act, intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves;" and also part of one other Act, intituled, "An Act to prevent the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the Possessors, and for the preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagors and Tenants for Life and Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves;" and also part of one other Act, intituled, "An Act to inflict further and other Punishments on the Transgressors of two several Acts, the one intituled, An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and the other intituled, An Act to prevent the enticing and inveigling of Slaves from the Possessors, and for the preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagors and Tenants for Life and Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves;" and also Part of an Act, intituled, "An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and to prevent the hiding, concealing, inveigling, detaining, knowingly harbouring or employing, the Slaves of others, and for preventing the Transportation of Slaves by Mortgagors and Tenants for Life and Years, and for regulating Abuses committed by Slaves;" and also one other Act, intituled, "An Act to repeal several Acts and Clauses of Acts respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes," passed the twenty-second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven: And whereas it is necessary to make further and other provision for the better order and government of Slaves, that justice may hereafter be more effectually administered, we therefore, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant-governor, Council, and Assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of January, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, all and every the said hereinbefore-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, any thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or in any other law contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

All such laws
and clauses
of laws to be
repealed.

2. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of Slaves, than the humanity of their owners, in providing

Proprietors or possessors of plantations, &c. to allot a sufficient quantity of land for every Slave, and to be allowed sufficient time to work the same.

Owners or possessors of plantations, &c. to plant one acre for every four Slaves, in provisions, over and above the ground aforesaid, under the penalty of 50l.

Where lands are not fit for the above purposes, Slaves to be otherwise provided for.

Slaves not to be turned away by their owners, on account of age, sickness, &c.

Such Slaves to be furnished with the necessaries of life, and not suffered to go about, and be burthensome to others, under the penalty of ten pounds.

providing for, and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of Slavery: For which end and purpose, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, every master, owner, or possessor of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every Slave he shall have in possession, upon or belonging to such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such Slave, and allow such Slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves, with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance: And also, all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground provisions, at least one acre of land for every four Negroes that he shall be possessed of, on such plantations, pens, or other lands, over and above the Negro grounds aforesaid; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

3. And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then and in that case the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such Slaves as they shall be possessed of, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor of any Slave or Slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such Slave or Slaves, on account or by reason of such Slave or Slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged to keep all such Slave or Slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such Slave or Slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island, who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary,

to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on h's own view, or upon the information of any White person upon oath, is hereby empowered and required to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm Slave or Slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them in the nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice on such trial, that the party or parties, so complained of, is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse, for the maintenance of such Slave or Slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of the said parish; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

5. And for the better encouragement of Slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of Slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each Slave they shall be possessed of, proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such Slaves reside.

Slaves to be decently clothed by their owners, &c. once in every year.

6. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of Slaves, shall as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their Slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, thereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism; and as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith.

Owners of Slaves to endeavour to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion.

7. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, ad-

Owners, &c. at the time of giving in their Slaves, &c. to

the justices and vestrymen, shall also give in an account of the quantity of land in ground provisions, over and above the Negro grounds, under the penalty of 50*l*.

And also to give in an account of the clothing actually served to each Slave.

Slave taking up runaways, or such as may have committed theft, &c. or informing against persons harbouring them, to be rewarded.

The killing or apprehending Slaves in actual rebellion, how to be rewarded.

Persons wilfully mutilating or dismembering Slaves, to be fined and imprisoned.

ministrator, or other person, at their giving in an account of their Slaves and stock to the justices and vestry on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground provisions, over and above the Negro grounds, upon such plantation, pen, or other settlement where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the Slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each Slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry, as aforesaid.

8. And, in order to encourage Slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every Slave or Slaves that shall take up any runaway Slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway Slave or Slaves, so that such runaway Slave or Slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or owners, every such Slave or Slaves so informing, shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall in reason and justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

9. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave or Slaves shall kill or take any Slave or Slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the church-wardens of the respective parishes where such Slave or Slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the church-wardens of the respective parishes where such Slave or Slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

10. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any Slave or Slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate

amutilate or dismember any Slave or Slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the Supreme Court of Judicature, or in any of the Assize Courts of this island; and upon conviction shall be punished by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, for each and every Slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the same; and in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such Slave or Slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary for the future protection of such Slave or Slaves, to declare him, her, or them free and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and in all such cases the court are hereby empowered and authorized, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said Slave or Slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish; the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said Slave or Slaves so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case any Slave or Slaves shall suffer any before-described mutilations, such Slave or Slaves, on his, her, or their application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view and certain conviction of the fact, to send such Slave or Slaves to the nearest workhouse where such offence shall be committed, and such Slave or Slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of such parish, until such time as there shall be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish, which justices and vestry so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such Slave or Slaves; and the said justices and vestry so met, are hereby directed and empowered to make further and free inquiry upon view into the commitment of the mutilation of such Slave or Slaves, and if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners, the expence of which prosecution shall be defrayed at the expence of the parish where such offence shall be committed; and in case the owner or owners of such Slave or Slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges

Mutilated Slaves,
in certain cases, to
be declared free.

Justices and vestry-
men to inquire into
such mutilations,
and prosecute the
offenders, at the ex-
pence of the parish,

Justices, &c. to commence suit against the owners, &c. of such Slaves, for recovery of the costs of such suits.

charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such Slave or Slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits; and the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated Slave or Slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to carry or deliver the body or bodies of such mutilated Slave or Slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect in not carrying or delivering before such justices and vestry such Slave or Slaves.

Justices of the peace, on information made that Slaves are mutilated and confined, are to issue their warrants to bring such Slaves before them.

11. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any information is made before any justice of the peace, that any Slave or Slaves is or are so mutilated and confined, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered, required, and directed, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable or the provost marshal, or his lawful deputy, ordering them, or any of them, immediately to proceed to where such Slave or Slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such Slave or Slaves to seize and take up, and him or them, so seized or taken, to bring before some justice of the peace, to be dealt with according to law.

Persons wilfully killing Slaves, to suffer death.

12. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter, shall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kill any Negro or other Slave, such person so offending shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly for the said offence: Provided always, That such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

Persons wantonly or cruelly beating Slaves, or confining them without sufficient support, how punishable.

13. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, any person or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any Slave or Slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same, in the Supreme Court of Judicature, or in either of the Courts of Assize, or Courts of Quarter Sessions in this island; and upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they shall suffer such punishment

punishment, by fine or imprisonment, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law, that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such Slave or Slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

14. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Slave, on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time, and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer of such plantation or settlement having such Slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a Slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for no offence, under the penalty of five pounds for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

Owners, &c. of
Slaves restrained
in punishment arbitrary.

15. And whereas from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of Slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of Negro, Mulatto, and other Slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance in the workhouses, or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this island, of such Negro, Mulatto, or other Slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid; and the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish, where (if a Slave) the former proprietor

Justices and vestry
to provide for the
support of dis-
abled Negroes, &c.
by a tax.

How to be disposed
of.

or proprietors, owner or owners, of such Slave lived or resided; or if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumised or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid; and the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make, from time to time, all such humane and salutary regulations for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

No Slave to travel
without a ticket.

Penalty on owners,
&c. of Slaves, who
shall neglect to give
such ticket.

Slaves travelling
without a ticket,
how punishable.

Penalty on justices
neglecting their
duty herein.

16. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the Slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the White people in general, and as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of Slaves committing rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the White people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Slave hereafter shall be suffered or permitted on any day, Sunday excepted, to go out of his or her master's or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless such Slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer, or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such Slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every Slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress (complaint being made to him upon oath), unless the master, owner, employer, or overseer of such Slave shall prove, upon oath, before any one justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer may or shall live or happen to be, that he did give the said Slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such Slave went away without his consent; and all and every such Slave or Slaves so travelling or going from one plantation or place to another, without such ticket as aforesaid, shall be apprehended and committed to gaol, and (if without such consent or privity as aforesaid) there be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes by order of such justice, for his, her, or their offence in the premises; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied (on complaint being made as aforesaid) on the owner, overseer, or any other person who shall suffer a Slave being under his or their direction to go out without a ticket as aforesaid, or shall not cause such punishments to be inflicted, as are directed by this

this act, or any Slave who shall go out without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

17. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That for the future all Slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the several seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; provided, that at any such respective seasons, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any Slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

Slaves to be allowed holidays.

Penalty on such as allow their Slaves any holidays other than those above directed.

18. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their Slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays) except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Slaves belonging to or employed on every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays hereinbefore mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop, under the penalty of ten pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such Slaves.

Slaves to be allowed one day in every fortnight (exclusive of Sundays) to cultivate their own grounds.

19. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field Slave on such plantation or settlement, shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no Slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of ten pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such Slaves.

Time allowed Slaves for breakfast, dinner, &c.

20. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter knowingly suffer any Slaves to assemble together,

Penalty on such as suffer unlawful assemblies of Slaves on their respective properties.

together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said Slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the Supreme Court of Judicature, or Courts of Assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made upon oath, before any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

Officers, civil or military, to enter any plantation, &c. to suppress unlawful assemblies of Slaves.

21. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be and are hereby empowered and required to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to suppress and prevent all unlawful drumming, and other noise or concourse of Negroes as before-mentioned; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies to be imprisoned.

22. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at Negro dances and nightly meetings of the Slaves of different plantations, when such Slaves are generally intoxicated; and it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of Negroes; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or, in his absence, any book-keeper, or other White person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall knowingly suffer any Slaves to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other White person so offending shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the Supreme Court of judicature, or before the justices of assize, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize; provided information is made upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence; and provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the Slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing
and

Proviso.

and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty, when and as often as they please; any thing in this or any other act to the contrary notwithstanding.

23. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his, her, or their custody, any fire-arms, gunpowder, slugs or ball, such Slave being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping, or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months; unless such Slave shall give a satisfactory account thereof, or shall have a ticket or tickets from his, her, or their owners, masters, overseers, or employers, expressing the reason of his being so armed; and that no ticket so given as aforesaid, shall continue or be in force for more than fourteen days.

Slaves not to have in their custody fire-arms, &c.

Proviso.

24. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any White person, such Slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, or confinement to hard labour for life, or otherwise, as the court shall in their discretion think proper to inflict; provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners' persons or goods.

Slaves offering violence to any White person, how punishable.

Proviso.

25. And be it further enacted, That any Slave or Slaves who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway Slave or Slaves, shall, on conviction before two justices, suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

Punishments on Slaves harbouring Slaves.

26. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer Slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what Slaves shall be deemed such; be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, any Slave or Slaves who shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except on a Sunday, shall be deemed a runaway.

Slaves found at the distance of eight miles from the plantation, &c. to which they belong, without a ticket, to be deemed runaway.

27. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever who shall apprehend such Slave or Slaves shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such Slave or Slaves, the sum of

Persons apprehending runaway Slaves, how to be rewarded.

ten shillings and no more, besides mile-money, at the rate of one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and sixpence per mile afterwards; provided such Slave or Slaves had absented him, her, or themselves six days, without the privity, knowledge, or consent of the proprietor, overseer, or other White person residing on the plantation or settlement to which such Slave or Slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such Slave or Slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other White person as aforesaid, if the party taking up such Slave or Slaves shall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any Slave or Slaves, that usually reside in, or are employed in any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually runaway or absent from their owner, employer, or manager's service six days, shall be entitled to the reward of ten shillings, although the Slave or Slaves so taken up should not be eight miles distant from their employer's habitation.

How Slaves, apprehended as runaways, are to be disposed of.

28. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the person or persons so apprehending such Slave or Slaves shall convey him, her, or them to their respective owner, employer, or manager, or to the work-house of such parish, if any work-house is established there; and in case of there being no work-house, to the next gaol, in case the owner, employer, or manager of such Slave or Slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case, the gaol or work-house keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such Slave or Slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such Slave or Slaves the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more, for each Slave so delivered, under the penalty of five pounds; provided nevertheless, that if such Slave or Slaves is or are brought to any gaol or work-house by any White person, free Negro, free Mulatto, or free Indian, no gaoler or work-house keeper shall pay such sum, before such person shall have taken an oath, that the Slave or Slaves, so apprehended, was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement to which such Slave or Slaves do belong (except as is before excepted), and that such Slave or Slaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such Slave or Slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them to pass unmolested, and that the said Slave or Slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager shall be in the parish in which such Slave or Slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer

overseer or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act; and that no ticket shall be granted to any Slave or Slaves for any time exceeding one kalendar month.

Tickets given to Slaves, to be for no longer time than a kalendar month.

29. And that it may be publicly known in the respective parishes what Slaves are runaway, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every owner or owners, employer or employers of Slaves, under the penalty of five pounds for every offence, shall, by him, her, or themselves, or by the overseer or manager of their respective plantations or settlements, within the first ten days of the months of March, June, September, and December, in each and every year, deliver or cause to be delivered to the custos, or any magistrate of their respective parishes, an account upon oath (which oath any magistrate is hereby empowered and required to administer), of the number of Slaves run away from him, her, or them, or from his, her, or their respective plantations or settlements; in which account shall be inserted the names of such Slaves, and the time when each Slave shall have been absent or runaway; and every magistrate is hereby required, under the penalty of ten pounds, to transmit such accounts as shall be delivered in to him to the clerk of the vestry, by the twentieth day of the months herein-before mentioned; and the said clerk of the vestry is hereby directed and required, under the penalty of five pounds, to enter such accounts in a book to be kept by him for that purpose, and at the quarterly meeting of the justices and vestry, to lay the same before them.

Penalty on owners, &c. of Slaves, not giving in an account of their runaways to the custos, &c. of their respective parishes;

and on such custos, &c. for not transmitting the same to the clerks of the vestry; also on the said clerk, for not entering the same in a book to be kept for that purpose.

30. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overseer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the Slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen, or other settlement.

Owners, &c. to give in an account of the births and deaths of Slaves annually.

31. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement,

Overseers, &c. neglecting to give in as aforesaid, the owner to stop the penalty incurred thereby, out of his wages.

ment, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

Surgeons on plantations, &c. to give in to vestry an account of such Slaves as may die, expressing the nature and causes thereof.

Overseers to be allowed 20s. for every Slave born on their Settlement, and alive at the time of giving in.

32. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, give in an account on oath of the deaths of such Slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of the Slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths, to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect; and in case it shall appear to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural increase in the number of Slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of twenty shillings for every Slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living; and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due, of the sum so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such increase, and receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

Penalty on free Negroes, &c. granting false tickets to Slaves.

33. And whereas, the more effectually to conceal a runaway Slave, or prevent his being apprehended, tickets are given by free Negroes, free Mulattoes, or Indians, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any free Negro, Mulatto, or Indian granting or giving such ticket with such intent, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the Supreme Court of Judicature, or in either of the Courts of Assize in this island where the offence shall be committed, and on conviction shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or other punishment, as the court in their discretion shall think proper to inflict.

White persons granting such tickets, how punishable.

34. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any White person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any Slave or Slaves before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such White person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the Supreme Court of Judicature, or either of the Assize Courts of this

island where the offence shall be committed, and on conviction, shall suffer such punishment as the court in their discretion shall think proper to inflict.

35. And to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway Slaves may have a due knowledge where such Slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or gaol in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such Slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, all and every the keepers of the workhouses, or gaol-keepers, in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged once every week to advertise in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway Slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every Slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and for the expence of such advertisement, they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers, shall and may, and they are hereby authorised to charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway Slaves so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse, or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or their custody, such runaway Slave or Slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf, properly authorised, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such Slave or Slaves into custody, with two shillings and sixpence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising after the rate above-mentioned, and sixpence for every twenty-four hours such Slave or Slaves shall have been in custody, and also the charges of advertising above-directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest upon oath, and that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such Slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway; and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

Keepers of gaols or workhouses to advertise the names, &c. of all runaways in their custody, weekly.

And do detain such Slaves until they be paid their Fees.

Gaolers or workhouse-keepers to attest, upon oath, the charges for mile-money, &c.

36. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island, shall,

And to give daily, to every Slave confined, a sufficient

M

under

quantity of provisions.

under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every Slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams; and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

Runaway Slaves, remaining in their gaols or workhouses twelve months, how to be disposed of.

37. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Slaves who shall have been twelve calendar months in any gaol or workhouse, and shall have been advertised in the manner directed in this act, and no person having appeared to claim, and pay the fee of such Slave or Slaves, that then the fees of such Slave or Slaves shall be paid by the receiver-general, and such Slave or Slaves shall be sent into the country towns, there to be worked in chains with the other workhouse Negroes; and that it shall and may be lawful for the owner of such Slave, to claim him or her at any subsequent period, and on proving his or her property, to the satisfaction of any judge of the Grand Court, or any two magistrates, such owner shall recover such Slave, paying to the receiver-general such sum of money as he actually paid to the gaoler or workhouse-keeper at the expiration of the said term of twelve months; and that the said workhouse-keeper be empowered to hire out such Slaves, and that the profits arising from such hire be applied, in the first place, to the maintenance of such Slave, in the same manner as the other workhouse Negroes are maintained, and the remainder of such hire be paid annually to the receiver-general, to assist in reimbursing the fees paid by him for such Slaves as may never be claimed: Provided also, That such workhouse-keeper be obliged to give the receiver-general, on or before the twentieth day of every January after the ensuing year, a regular account, upon oath, of the profits arising from the hire of such Slaves, to the thirty-first day of December of the year preceding, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each and every Slave he shall omit or neglect to give such account of; to be recovered in a summary manner, by a warrant from any magistrate, and paid to the receiver-general, and by him to be applied to the credit of the account of fees paid by him for such Slaves; and that the said workhouse-keeper be entitled to five pounds per centum on the gross amount of the hire of such Slaves.

38. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where any runaway Slave or Slaves shall die in the custody of any such workhouse-keeper or gaol-keeper, at any time within twelve calendar months aforesaid, and the owner or owners, employer or employers, of such runaway Slave or Slaves so dying, cannot be known, such workhouse-keeper or gaol-keeper shall, in such case, be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due to him or them for such Slave or Slaves at the time of his or her death from the public, upon application and due proof made in the most solemn manner to the assembly or any committee thereof, that such workhouse-keeper or gaol-keeper had used his utmost endeavours to find and know the owner or owners, employer or employers of such Slave or Slaves so dying, and could not, and that such Slave or Slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such workhouse-keeper or gaol-keeper, was or were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions, equal to what is allowed by this law.

Runaways dying in gaol within twelve months, the fees to be paid by the public.

39. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any Slave or Slaves sent to his custody as a runaway, or otherwise committed by a magistrate, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging to or in the possession of any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such Slave or Slaves out to work for any other person or persons during such time such Slave or Slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such Slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall for every offence forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

Gaol-keepers not to hire out runaway or other Slaves committed to their custody.

40. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for the term of six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and upon conviction thereof, such Slave or Slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves run away six months, to be tried and punished at the discretion of two justices.

41. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of Negroes going under the appellation of obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt

Slaves pretending to have supernatural powers, or convicted in the practice of obeah, how punishable.

empt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, any Slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to affect the health or lives of others, or promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct; any thing in this or any other act to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Slaves administering poison to any one, although it may not have the effect to kill, to suffer death.

42. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said Slave or Slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being Slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or be confined to hard labour for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this or any other act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves having in their custody large quantities of fresh meat, unknown to their owners, &c. how punishable.

43. And whereas great numbers of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by Negro and other Slaves, in so secret and private a manner, that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantities of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals are found upon him, her, or them; in order therefore to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts, agreeably to their crimes, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person who shall have the overlooking or employing of such Slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such Negro or other Slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped, in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, or ass, and such Slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such Negro or other Slave, upon conviction

conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

44. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall, after the first day of January aforesaid, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcase of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such Negro or other Slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves stealing
horned cattle, how
to be punished.

45. And whereas it is necessary to declare how and in what manner Slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which they may hereafter commit; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any White person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any Slave or Slaves, that shall subject such Slave or Slaves to suffer death or confinement to hard labour for life, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any justice of the peace, that can give evidence of Slaves against one another, in this and all other cases shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the Slave or Slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the Quarter-sessions are usually held; and where there are no Quarter-sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted; and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which such justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and impannelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor of the Slave or Slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guar-

Slaves guilty of
crimes, how to be
tried.

dian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper always excepted), personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon; when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds, and when and where the said justices shall cause the said Slave or Slaves so complained of to be brought before them; and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said Slave or Slaves, and shall by the said justices be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and the charge or accusation being read, which shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance, if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said Slave or Slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or confinement to hard labour for life, or for any limited time, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper (women with child only excepted), whose execution shall be respited until after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of Quarter-sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled, shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of inquiring into, hearing and determining all manner of offences, for which any Slave or Slaves are liable to be punished with death or confinement to hard labour for life, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a Slave court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein-before mentioned are by this act directed to proceed in the trial of Slaves for such offences, proceed to try and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct, of all and every Slave and Slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the panel returned to the said court of Quarter-sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn as they shall appear, to try all and every such Slave and Slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

46. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the Quarter-sessions to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said Slave court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices upon any such trial where any Slave or Slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices, to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any Slave or Slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such Slave or Slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

Jurors to serve at Slave Courts, under the penalty of five pounds.

Slaves to be respited until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known.

47. And be it further enacted, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any Slave or Slaves, for any crime or offence that shall subject such Slave or Slaves to suffer death or confinement to hard labour for life; and that, upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the said jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

No less than three justices necessary to form a court for the trial of Slaves for capital offences.

48. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish, and with due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy marshal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other, and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct; and provided also, that where several Slaves are capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

Execution to be in a public part of the parish, and with due solemnity.

49. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any Slave or Slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence on any trial had under this act, such Slave or Slaves being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the

Slaves giving false evidence, how to be punished.

the person or persons, on whose trial such false evidence was given, would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

Penalty on free Negroes, &c. for suffering unlawful assemblies of Slaves at their houses, &c.

50. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any free Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, shall hereafter knowingly suffer any unlawful assembly of Slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such free Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months; provided nevertheless, that information thereof shall be given on oath, within five days of such unlawful meetings.

Clerk of the peace to attend trials of Slaves, and record the proceedings.

51. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of Slaves, for any crime that shall subject any Slave or Slaves to suffer death or confinement to hard labour for life, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwarden of such parish, the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto; and further, that the deputy marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

Five days notice of the trial of Slaves, to be given to their owners, &c.

52. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any Slave or Slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such Slave or Slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attorneys, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves given up for trial by the owner, &c. and sentenced to die, to be valued by the justices, &c.

53. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any Slave or Slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall be sentenced to die, or to hard labour during life in any of the workhouses of this island, the court, at the time of trying such Slave or Slaves, shall also inquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer of the said Slave or Slaves, ought to receive for such Slave or Slaves, and certify the same, so that the sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of forty pounds

pounds for each Slave executed, or sentenced to hard labour during life as aforesaid.

54. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any Slave or Slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such Slave or Slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any monies in the hands unappropriated.

And such valuation to be paid by the receiver-general.

55. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave or Slaves transported off this island under any former act for any fault or crime, shall at any time wilfully return, upon complaint made to any one justice of the peace, the said justices, upon view of the record, and the identity of the said Slave being proved, he is hereby empowered and required, under the penalty of fifty pounds, immediately to issue out a warrant under his hand and seal, to any marshal or constable, forthwith to apprehend the said Slave or Slaves so returning, and commit them to any of the work-houses in this island, there to be confined to hard labour for life.

Magistrates to issue out warrants to apprehend Slaves returning from transportation.

56. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanors committed by Slaves which ought to be punished in a summary manner by order of the magistrates, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace, to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanors, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such Slave or Slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such Slave or Slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices in their judgment shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes, or six months confinement to hard labour, the expence of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employet of such Slave or Slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such Slave or Slaves, shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

Magistrates empowered to cause Slaves to be punished for inferior crimes, &c. as to their judgment shall seem meet.

O

57. And

Workhouse-keepers to demand and take into their custody all runaways detained in gaols, on paying the gaol fees, &c.

57. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other Slaves; and whereas there are now many such Slaves in the possession of the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in workhouses in this island to great advantage; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January next, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway Negroes or other Slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors or guardians, paying unto the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees, and other contingent charges attending the said runaway Slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeable to this or any former act; and the provost marshal, and his lawful deputies, shall comply with such requisitions, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners of Slaves, sentenced to the workhouse, to be paid for their labour.

58. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whenever any Slave or Slaves shall be sentenced to a workhouse for any time exceeding six months, and short of confinement for life, the justices shall value the time for which the said Slave or Slaves shall be sentenced to the workhouse, at a rate not exceeding five pounds per annum, for so long as the said Slave or Slaves may live; which said value shall be paid to the proprietor or proprietors of such Slave or Slaves, by the church-wardens of the parish where the workhouse is situated, or to which the said Slave or Slaves shall be sentenced to confinement; and the owner or owners of such Slave or Slaves, or of any Slave to be confined for six months, or any shorter time, shall not be liable to pay any fees for the time such Slave or Slaves shall be confined.

Magistrates are not to commit runaways to gaol, if a workhouse is in the parish.

59. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

Horses, &c. the property of Slaves, to be taken up and sold at the most public place in the parish.

60. And whereas the permitting and suffering Negro and other Slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, asses, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; in order therefore to remedy the same, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That on or before the first day of January aforesaid, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator,

nistrator, or other person in possession of every plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any Slave or Slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time as the justices and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose; and that such horses, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal, respectively forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses; which penalty shall be, one moiety to the use of the poor of the parish, and the other moiety to the person complaining.

61. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any Slave or Slaves to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and in case of so doing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

Penalty on owners, &c. of Slaves, permitting them to keep horses, &c. on their plantations, &c.

62. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other persons, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their Slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings so given in do belong to any Negro or other Slave; and that such person so giving in, or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their possession, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to any Slave or Slaves; and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do, every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be recovered in the summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein-before mentioned.

Persons giving in an account of Slaves, &c. to make oath, that none of which belongs to any Slave.

63. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, no Negro or other Slave in this island, shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding,

Slaves not allowed to purchase horses, &c.

Penalty on persons
selling or giving
such stock to Slaves.

gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed of as herein-before-mentioned; and if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, to any Negro or other Slave, or to any person in trust for such Negro or other Slave, every such person shall for every such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of any horse, mare, mule, or gelding in trust for any Negro or other Slave, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner, and disposed of as herein-before mentioned; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Penalty on owners,
&c. for concealing
Slaves against whom
warrants are issued.

64. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, Whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace against any Slave, if the said Slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer of such Slave shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and if he, she, or they do not carry the said Slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law, on the said warrant, and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer of such Slave, wilfully detained or concealed said Slave, he, she, or they shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

Slaves attempting
or conspiring to de-
part this island, or
aiding or abetting
others in so doing,
how punishable.

65. And whereas several Slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other Slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same; and whereas there is reason to suspect that such Slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting such deserts; for remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of January aforesaid, if any Slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off this island in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting to any other Slave or Slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or to aiding, assisting, or abetting in such going off, (being duly convicted before the Quarter Sessions,) shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

66. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, or free condition, shall on or after the first day of January aforesaid, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting any Slave or Slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the Supreme Court, or in any of the Assize Courts of this island, such Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, or free condition, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being thereof convicted before the Supreme Court of Judicature or Courts of Assize in this island, shall suffer death.

Penalty on free people for assisting Slaves in going off the island.

67. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any White person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting any Slave or Slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information in the Supreme Court of Judicature, or Courts of Assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each Slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

Penalty on White persons for aiding or abetting Slaves to go off this island.

68. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting such Slave or Slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this or any other act, law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Persons so offending to be proceeded against, although the principals be not convicted.

69. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for Negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; in order therefore to prevent the like for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management on any of the particular holidays hereinbefore-mentioned to be allowed to Slaves, without leave of his employer,

Overseers not to leave the estates under their care on Negro holidays.

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every

every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Free people to give in their names, and the manner they obtained freedom, to vestry, to be recorded.

70. And whereas many inconveniencies have arisen from Slaves going about this island, under the pretence of being free; in order to prevent the like for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestry in each respective parish within this island shall, within three months after the commencement of this act, cause diligent inquiry to be made within their respective parishes, as to the number of Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians of free condition, and cause them to be warned to attend at their next meeting, and give an account of what manner they obtained their freedom, that their names, and manner of obtaining their freedom, may be registered in the vestry books of such parishes; and that those not having certificates shall receive a certificate of their freedom from the clerks of such vestries respectively; which certificate they are hereby obliged to have attested under the hand and seal of the commander in chief for the time being, within three months from the date thereof, under the penalty of six weeks imprisonment in the workhouse; which certificate shall, by the commander in chief for the time being, be so attested without fee or reward; and that such certificate of the freedom of any Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, as well those now free as those who may hereafter become free, shall by such free Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, be produced to the justices and vestry on the twenty-fifth day of March in each year, or on the first vestry day after that day, to be by them inspected, under the penalty of forty shillings in each Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, for each neglect; which certificate, so to be attested under the hand and seal of the commander in chief as aforesaid, such Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians, shall, and they are hereby obliged constantly to carry about them, and shall also be obliged to wear the badge of their freedom, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect; free Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians possessed of a real estate, or claiming any privileges or immunities, by virtue of any law of this island, excepted.

Free people to carry about them a certificate, and wear the badge of their freedom.

Free people, not attending the vestry as aforesaid, to shew their right to freedom, how punishable.

71. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any such Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, shall neglect to attend the vestry of each respective parish, as aforesaid, in order to shew their right to freedom, after having been warned five days at the least, (such warning to be attested on oath by the person serving the same,)

same,) * shall, on not shewing sufficient cause for his or her non-attendance, be, by warrant under the hand and seal of any one of his Majesty's justices of the peace where such offender resides, taken up and committed to gaol for a space not exceeding one month.

* Sic in orig.

72. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, as aforesaid, shall be obliged, towards the proof of freedom, to make search in pursuance of this act, of his or her title, in any office of this island, the charge of such search or searches shall be made good to him or her by the parish where he or she resides.

Expence of searches for vouchers of freedom, to be paid by the parish.

73. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required to do their several and respective duties under this act, when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Martial law not to prevent justices, &c. doing their duty under this law.

74. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justices of the peace, sitting on the trial of any Slave or Slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any Slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

Slaves not to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

75. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, shall willingly or negligently suffer any Slave or Slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody, for any offence under this act, such marshal or constable who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds to the owner of such Slave or Slaves, for every Slave so escaping.

Penalty on marshals and constables willfully suffering Slaves to escape.

76. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Negro or other Slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other White person, by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any Negro or other Slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, guns, &c. except in the company of their owners, &c.

77. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no merchant, factor, supercargo, or consignee of any cargo of Slaves,

Consignees, &c. of Slaves, not to sell such on shipboard,

but to provide a proper inclosure on shore;

and to endeavour not to separate relations.

Slaves committing crimes previous to the passing of this act, shall be tried and punished as directed by the law then in force.

How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.

Continuance of this act.

Slaves, arriving in any of the ports of this island, shall hereafter, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, expose such cargo to sale on board the ship or other vessel in which the same is imported, but shall procure or hire, or cause to be procured or hired, a proper place or inclosure ashore, wherein the said Slaves shall be sold, taking care, as far as possible, in the sale thereof, not to separate the different branches of one and the same family.

78. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all crimes committed by Slaves during the times the said hereinbefore-mentioned act, intituled, "An Act to repeal several Acts and Clauses of Acts respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes," was in force, shall be heard, tried, and determined, and such Slaves punished in such manner as was directed by the said recited act, and as if the same was now in full force; and for which purposes only the said recited act shall be considered as still in force.

79. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a summary manner, before any two of his Majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the Supreme Court of Judicature of this island, or in either of the Courts of Assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, wager of law, or *non vult ulterius prosequi* shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.

80. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained, shall continue and be in force from the first day of January, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, until the thirty-first day of December, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and no longer.

Die Jovis, 24^o Maij 1792.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into further Con- Slave Trade.
sideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the several Petitioners to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in support of their Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

Counsel were accordingly called in.

Then LEWIS CUTHBERT Esquire, was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

How long upon the whole have you resided in the island of Jamaica?

I went to Jamaica in the year 1760, under the patronage of Mr. Dawkins, a very great proprietor in Jamaica; I was employed and appointed by him one of his attornies for conducting his property in the year 1761; and in the year 1763 I entered into a very large extensive commerce in a house in Kingston as a partner, which partnership continued till the year 1769. I then purchased a sugar estate. In the year 1772, I was obliged to come to England for ill health. I returned in the year 1774. A number of adverse circumstances and misfortunes obliged me to sell my estate, after having brought it forward very much. After this I was principally employed as an attorney for conducting the property of absentees in Jamaica. In the year 1777 I returned to England upon particular business, and went to Jamaica in the year 1778. In that year Mr. Neville, the patentee of the provost marshal general's office in Jamaica, was pleased to appoint me his deputy, to act and officiate in that office, which I entered upon in December 1779. In the year 1780 very ill health obliged me to return to England, and I put my brother into the office to execute it in my room. I continued in England until January 1788, and arrived in Jamaica in February of that year. I resumed the execution of the office, and continued to execute it until the 16th of September last, when

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ill health again obliged me to quit the island. During my last residence in Jamaica I was very much engaged in planting concerns for gentlemen of this country, who were so good to appoint me to take care of their property.

What number of Negroes had you under your care and direction at the time when you last quitted the island of Jamaica?

I have not a correct list of them, not expecting that I should be called upon as evidence upon this occasion; and for the same reason I did not take with me many documents and vouchers that certainly would have been of great use to me in the course of this examination; but to the best of my remembrance and recollection, I think the number was 2,300 or 2,400.

On how many different estates might this number of Negroes be employed?

Upon about eleven, I think; but I can name them, if necessary; I think upon either eleven or twelve.

During the whole of your residence in Jamaica, have you made the management of plantations your particular study?

Yes.

Have you made the treatment and the management of Negroes the subject of your particular attention?

A very few years experience as a planter convinced me that the success of all plantations depended principally upon an attention to Negroes, and the treating them with humanity, so as to make them as contented as their lot and condition was possible to be: and with respect to myself, I can with confidence say, that I did exert myself upon all occasions from this principle of duty that I owed to my constituents, independent of humanity, which I trust I have as much of as others concerned in the same way.

As far as your observation of the treatment of the Negroes throughout the whole island of Jamaica has been, is it in general humane or otherwise?

From my long residence in Jamaica; from the number of concerns under my own particular direction; from a long acquaintance with most of the great proprietors in the island; from an intimate friendship with many of them, and also with the attornies employed for absentees in this country, and particularly in respect of the office of provost marshal general; and having many relations in business in many of the parishes in the island of Jamaica, I can speak confidently upon this subject. I think, that in every parish in the island,
the

the Negroes generally are treated with great humanity. But it certainly has happened, and I have seen some instances of unnecessary severity and acts of cruelty, but these I think are but few; and I know particularly within these last fifteen or twenty years, that any proprietor of a plantation whose character was notorious for ill-treating his Negroes, was held in detestation by the community at large: the same extended particularly to overseers and managers; and I have myself, under my own concern, discharged managers who were reckoned to be very skilful planters, for no other reason than some instances of unnecessary severity.

Is the situation of the Negroes upon the different estates, as far as you have had opportunity to observe it, in general comfortable or otherwise?

I think the situation of Negroes upon estates in general, if the Negroes are well disposed, must be very comfortable; there are a number of ill disposed Negroes upon every plantation, but more upon some estates than upon others.

What is the ordinary quantity of labour which a Negro is required to perform as to hours?

That differs: certainly in crop time the Negroes have less rest than at other times; but in general, out of crop, upon many calculations that I have made with respect to this question, I think, that on an average of the year, Negroes do not labour ten hours in the twenty-four.

Is the labour, such as it is, the climate, and all other circumstances considered, what they are capable of performing?

In general they certainly are not required to do more than they are capable of performing. I myself never knew any instance of the contrary.

Having said, that they are called upon to perform more labour during the time of crop than at any other period, are they not in general more healthy during that time?

They certainly are; and I have often been very much surprised at it.

Do you know of a manager's having been discharged, in consequence of complaints made by Negroes to the owners, or to his attorney?

I know it—I know many instances: I know that I have done it myself; I mentioned it in answer to a former question.

In what manner are the Negroes in general fed?

In general, Negroes upon plantations are very well fed, except in
cases

cases of provisions in the country being very scarce by reason of long droughts, severe gales of wind, and variety of other calamities that affect the provisions of the country: On that account it happens sometimes, that provisions are not to be had; and then Negroes must certainly suffer more or less with respect to provisions. Negroes upon plantations generally are fed from the grounds that they cultivate (and which are allotted to them by the owner or his agent), on the days that are allowed to them according to the law, or as circumstances may happen; and in general these grounds produce a great superfluity. After providing for their own wants on new estates, upon new settlements, every proprietor, who studies his own interest, provides these grounds for the Negroes before any other object of cultivation—it precedes every other object. When new Negroes are brought upon estates, they are fed by provisions dealt out to them by the managers and White people upon the estates, from the lands on which provisions are raised for the general use of the plantation, independent of the grounds allotted to each individual Negro; and there is upon every estate what is called a planting-walk—the house-planting-walk. And besides this, the law requires, that there shall be upon every estate one acre of ground, planted with ground provisions, for every four Negroes, calculated to provide against the dreadful effects of hurricanes,—these ground provisions, particularly, not being so subject to be destroyed as planting-walks and other provisions. In Jamaica there is a great difference in the provisions of Negroes in the dry weather parishes, particularly, near to Spanish-Town and Kingston; in the parishes of Vere, the lower parts of Clarendon, and Saint Dorothy's, the provisions for Negroes is generally Guinea-corn, which is a very hearty food, and these are all dry-weather parishes; which makes it necessary to deal out to the Negroes certain allowances of provisions for about eight months in the year, independent of the provisions that they raise upon their own particular grounds.

Are the proprietors of estates, or the attornies of those proprietors, both in the case of old estates and of estates to be settled, in general attentive to the allotting these lands to the Negroes?

I have said that it precedes every other object.

Is the land allotted to a Negro as much as he can cultivate, consistently with the other labour which it is incumbent upon him to perform?

On the generality of estates, they have just as much land given to them as they chuse.

Having stated that these lands will furnish them with a superfluity of provisions, what becomes of that superfluity?

They carry that superfluity to market, and sell it for money, and exchange it for various articles; some for particular provisions which they are fond of; some for wearing apparel, and for a variety of other articles, such as they may fancy; and they all of them have more or less ready money, the produce of those provisions belonging to themselves.

Does the owner ever interfere with the Negro in the possession and enjoyment of the land which is allotted to him; or, on the contrary, is it not considered as inviolable by the owner?

I never knew one instance of a proprietor attempting to disturb a Negro in the possession of the ground allotted to him. It frequently has happened to be convenient for the proprietor to exchange the Negro grounds for the purpose of cultivating sugar on those lands; but when this is done, it is always with the consent of the Negroes themselves; new grounds are always prepared to be given them in exchange, and the Negroes must be satisfied before this exchange takes place. The new grounds have been prepared, and in actual bearing, when the change takes place; and I myself have, as a further inducement to Negroes, very frequently given them some money to content them when such changes have taken place; and I know that that is the practice with respect to most of the estates that I was acquainted with in Jamaica.

Having stated that Negroes, by the custom of the island, are capable of acquiring property; whether they are not in general suffered to enjoy it undisturbed during their lives, and to dispose of it according to their will at their deaths?

They certainly are; and I never knew, nor ever heard of any instance to the contrary.

Do they not frequently raise stock upon their different lands, which they sell to the owner of the estate, of which those lands are parcel?

They certainly do.—They raise hogs and small stock, which they frequently sell to the owners and their attornies; but in general they prefer selling them to any body else, as they are exceedingly jealous that the proprietor or manager, or any of the White people, should inquire or know any thing at all about what property they are possessed of, particularly in money. I have known many Negroes possessed of cows and their followers, and have known them sell those very cows, and sometimes oxen, to their proprietors. When I went

first to Jamaica, and some years after, it was a common thing for Negroes to have horses, and I have known them sell some colts at pretty good prices; but a law was passed by the Legislature, to prevent Negro Slaves from having horses, because it was supposed, and with reason, that on these horses they went to considerable distances, and frequently were suspected of going upon those occasions on intentions of insurrection; and as they are in general exceedingly fond of wandering from their estates, it was thought proper to prevent their having horses, to keep them from going to great distances from their estates: but, when that law took place, such Negroes as had horses were permitted to sell them, and to appropriate what they sold for to their own use, without inquiry by the proprietor, or by any person concerned for him.

Having spoken to the food and labour of the Negro; in what manner is he, in general, clothed and lodged?

He is generally clothed, always indeed once a year: Osnaburghs and coarse blanketing, or baize, with caps or hats; handkerchiefs, and some other trifling matters of that kind, are dealt out to them every year: new Negroes are clothed oftener, and so are children; and, upon the whole, I think that, with respect to clothing, they are as well supplied as the climate renders necessary. With respect to lodging, they have houses which are, upon the whole, not uncomfortable; and these houses are either provided for them, built for them by the proprietor, or, as they are exceedingly fond of building their houses themselves, time is given to them to build them, and the materials generally brought upon the spot for that purpose.

In what manner are the new Negroes, in general, treated, upon their first coming upon the estates; and first as to the men?

The first thing is to clothe them: On their first coming to the estate they are lodged in the manager's house, or in some comfortable place near it, and fed by messes provided for them, by order of the manager, and under his own eye. After a little acquaintance with the estate, they generally are put under the care of some of the sensible Negroes upon the plantation, with whom they lodge, and ordinarily eat the provisions that are dealt out to them from the stores daily. The first work they are put to is always very light and easy; and, as soon as they can understand any thing of their situation, grounds are allotted for them; these grounds are formed and cleared for them; they are shewn by the other Negroes how to cultivate them, and they have seeds and plants of every kind of provisions given to them: very great attention is paid to them for many months after their coming to the estate, both as to food and every other cir-

cumstance, and so it continues until they are considered to be completely seasoned, and capable of taking care of themselves. With respect to the women, they generally are taken for wives by some of the Negroes upon the estate, who are always very glad to have them.

Is care taken in general to make their situation and condition as comfortable as possible?

Certainly it is.

Having spoken to the condition of the new Negro when first imported, and to his work in the middle stage of life, what becomes of the superannuated Negro when he is no longer capable of work?

As soon as a Negro becomes weakly through age, he is employed upon very light work; they are very often put at gates of the different cane-pieces and of the different inclosures, as watchmen; during which some of them do little else than make baskets, and others of them catch rats, or do any other sort of light work that may be wanting on the estate; the same allowance of clothing, provision, and, in short, every thing else that is given to the active Negro is equally distributed to them; and, if they are fortunate enough to have children, these children are certainly encouraged to pay every attention to them, and they frequently work their grounds for them. Upon the whole, a Negro in Jamaica that is past labour, upon a well-managed estate, is in a very comfortable situation.

But putting the case of a Negro absolutely incapable of labour, is not the master, by the law of Jamaica, bound equally to supply him with all the necessaries of life as if he was capable of labour?

The law requires it, but the interest of the proprietor requires it also; and were any Negro of that description to be deserted, or ill-treated, it would be the occasion of dispiriting the Negroes upon the estate generally.

Are you acquainted with the state of the Negro population?

I certainly have paid very great attention to Negro population for many years past, and I have conversed on the subject very much with all the gentlemen of my acquaintance concerned in the plantation line.

Have you also, from the nature of your office as provost marshal, had opportunities to ascertain what that state of population is?

My office as provost marshal did certainly afford me many opportunities of observing the decrease of Negroes, particularly in the cases of
of

of mortgaged estates, when foreclosures and consequent sales of such estates took place; I have known several instances of estates sold by foreclosure on mortgages which had existed thirty and forty years. It is almost universal, in all mortgages, either to insert the names of the Negroes upon the estate so mortgaged, in the body of the mortgage, males and females, or a schedule of their names is annexed—either the one or the other. The Negroes secured under the mortgage, continue subject to the mortgage, and the issue of the females. I have known an estate where two hundred Negroes have been mortgaged by names, and when they have come to sale have been reduced, after twenty-five or thirty years, or thirty-five or forty years, under a hundred; and I am sorry to say, that this observation was without exception.

Generally speaking, are the births throughout the island equal to the deaths of the Negroes?

They certainly are not.

Have you made any calculation which will enable you to state what is the decrease, or in what proportion the deaths exceed the births?

I have prepared a statement to the best of my knowledge and ability, taken from the only certain *data* that I could go upon, which, with permission, I beg leave to tender as part of my evidence.

Then the Witness produced a Paper, which he read; after which the same was delivered in; and is as follows:

Calculation to ascertain the Decrease of Negroes in Jamaica from the Year 1768 to 1787.

In the year 1788, 17,000 Negroes were given in at vestry, in the parish of Clarendon, but only 14,700 were assessed to the poll-tax, the number of

“In order to compute the increase or decrease of the Negroes in Jamaica, we have no *data* so simple, so intelligible, and so certain as the tax-roll. The poll-tax is and has been for many years one of the established annual funds of that country. Such of the owners of Negroes as possess only a certain small and limited number are exempted from the payment of the tax; and their Negroes are left out of the tax list. The list, therefore, although it does not shew the whole number of Negroes actually on the island; yet as the exemption

exemption is uniform, and cannot affect the list much more at one period than another, so the rolls afford a fair, reasonable, and sufficient ground of computation.

The periods at which the computations in respect to Jamaica have been taken are, 1768, when the tax roll number was

1768	-	-	167,000
1774, when it was	-	-	192,787
1787, when it was	-	-	210,894

Or in round numbers,

1768	-	-	167,000
1774	-	-	193,000
1787	-	-	211,000

The number of Negroes imported and retained in the island during the first period of six years (1769 to 1774) 41,038

The number imported and retained during the second period of thirteen years (1774 to 1787) 88,000

In round Numbers.

41,000
88,000

On these simple data the calculation is easily and perspicuously made, viz.

FIRST SERIES.

The tax-roll number was - - 167,000 Year 1768.
Add the number imported and retained from December 1769 to December 1774 is six years 41,000

The tax-roll number was - - 208,000
Decrease in six years, is - - 193,000 Year 1774.
15,000

Is at the rate of 2500 per annum.

Medium number in the six years 180,000.

The decrease computed on the medium number is $1\frac{5}{100}$, or a very little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

exempts, therefore, was about $\frac{1}{8}$, and it is believed that the number of exempts, on the whole island, are nearly in that proportion, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the number assessed. The number assessed in 1788, was

210,408
Add ex- }
empts, } 30,058
or $\frac{1}{8}$, }

Makes 2,404,666
Which exactly agrees with the Assembly Report, October 1788, which states the whole population at 240,000.

SECOND SERIES.

Year 1774.	The tax-roll number was	-	193,000
	Add the number imported and retained from December 1774 to December 1787, is thirteen years		88,000
			<hr/> 281,000
Year 1787, } December }	The tax number was	-	211,000
	Decrease in thirteen years		70,000
	is at the rate of 5400 per annum.		
	Medium number in the thirteen years	-	202,000
	The decrease computed on the medium number is $2\frac{673}{10000}$, a trifle more than $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. per annum.		
	Medium number of the whole nineteen years	-	190,300
	The diminution in the whole nineteen years	-	85,000
	This is equal 4474 annually, $2\frac{35}{1000}$, or very little more than $2\frac{5}{3}$ per cent. on the medium number of the tax-rolls.		

Admitting that of the 70,000 decrease in the last thirteen years, 7,000 should be considered as an extra mortality, occasioned by the scarcity of provisions prevailing between December 1780 and January 1786; then the decrease by ordinary mortality would be only 63,000, which is 4,846 per annum.

According to which statement, the decrease on the medium number, taken in these thirteen years, (viz. 202,000,) will be found to be $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. per annum.

Or,

Admitting that of the 70,000 decrease afore said, the *extra* mortality was (as the Report of Assembly represents it) 15,000 Negroes;

Then the decrease by ordinary mortality, for the last thirteen years, would be only 55,000;

Which is 4,230 per annum. According to which, the average decrease taken on the medium number (202,000) will be found to be about $2\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. per annum.

N.B. The average of the three results taken on the different modes of computation on the last thirteen years is $2\frac{39}{1000}$.

Then the Witness was asked,

To what causes do you impute the decrease of which you have been speaking?

First, to the inequality of the sexes, which is considerable on many estates. Next, to the dissolute manners and lives of the Negroes, particularly to the promiscuous intercourse, especially of the females, at a very early period of life; and their disliking, while they have any attractions left, to make any lasting attachments with the Negro men, and often procuring abortions. This promiscuous intercourse never fails to be followed by dreadful venereal diseases, which make great havock among the Negroes; I am convinced as much as any other cause whatever. A number of the infants born, die within the fourteenth day after their birth, by the tetanus, or locked jaw: the children are subject to worms, much more I believe than in European countries; the yaws, a disease peculiar to Negroes, is the cause of the death of a great number, more particularly of the new Negroes. The young Negro men are exceedingly fond of rambling out at night, instead of taking rest; and many fevers and other diseases are contracted and got at these rambles: these are the causes generally to which I attribute the great decrease of Negroes.

Can you state with any accuracy what is the inequality between the sexes?

I certainly cannot with accuracy; but I remember the calculation made by the Assembly at Jamaica was a proportion of 140,000 to 110,000; but I believe that that calculation was rather hypothesis than any thing certain.

(*By a Lord.*) Is there any distinction taken upon the tax-rolls as to males and females?

No.

The tax is the same upon both?

The tax is the same upon both, upon all Negro Slaves.

(*By Counsel.*) Having spoken of these night rambles to which the Negroes are so much addicted, whether in Jamaica the nights are not far less salubrious than the day-time for the Negroes?

They certainly are for the Negroes, as they are much colder, and that very heavy dews fall; and heat seems—indeed I am certain that heat agrees infinitely better with the constitution of the Negroes than cold.

Would the attempt to put an end to the promiscuous intercourse, by confining one woman to one man, be practicable, if made by the owner in the state of society there?

I think

I think it would be morally impossible in the present situation ; and I believe that the Negro would consider any restraint upon his inclinations in this respect, so as to compel him to make any choice to take any woman the proprietor might think proper, and to be compelled to continue to live with her, the greatest tyranny that could be inflicted upon him.

The question was—Whether confining one woman to one man would be looked upon as an article of tyranny ? You have stated, that confining a man to a woman who was the choice of the proprietor would be so considered ; but, suppose it were left to his own choice, would confining him to the woman he chose himself be looked upon in the same light ?

Not in so great a degree, certainly, in the one case as in the other ; but I am of opinion, that in the last case the Negro would consider it as a great hardship.

Having specified the various causes of the great mortality of which you have spoken, whether in cases of diseases in general the Negroes are not treated with proper medical skill, and have administered to them what the state of sickness requires ?

In that respect very great attention is given, and improvements have been, within my knowledge, made within these fifteen or twenty years, by which hospitals upon plantations are in general suited for the purposes of sick Negroes, in all respects not short of the conveniencies of hospitals in any European countries ; and I beg leave to mention one instance of a gentleman now in Jamaica, a Dr. Naismith, who was many years a very eminent physician in Kingston, and who afterwards purchased a large sugar plantation. He built an hospital upon a plan of his own, which plan he communicated to all his neighbours in that part of the country : it has been universally followed. There is a medical man, a surgeon, appointed to attend every plantation, and on many estates there are resident surgeons ; but upon all estates surgeons are required to visit twice or thrice a week, and oftener as occasion requires : there are proper persons placed in these hospitals to attend the sick Negroes, and different apartments for different diseases ; animal food, and every thing else that may be recommended by the doctor, is provided for them.

(*By a Lord.*) Are there distinct hospitals upon each estate respectively ?

Yes.

And

And are they kept at the expence of the private proprietor of each estate, or at the expence of the public?

They are kept by the private proprietors entirely.

All of them?

Yes; all of them; none by the public, except in the towns.

(*By Counsel.*) In what manner are the Negro women, during their pregnancy, treated by the owners of the estates to which they belong?

Whenever pregnancy becomes visible, the Negro woman is not then required to do so much work; and within two months of delivery they are required to do no more work of any kind than what is considered to be necessary for their health.

Is there any other punishment inflicted upon Negro women in that state, except confinement; or did you ever know corporal punishment inflicted upon them?

I never knew an instance of corporal punishment inflicted upon a pregnant woman, nor to the best of my recollection at present, did I ever hear of any; it might have happened, but I cannot recollect having heard of an instance. I believe, though I don't know it myself, that they are sometimes confined, to prevent their rambling, even after they are with child; but this I do not know, I have heard instances of it.

Having spoken to their treatment during pregnancy, what is their treatment after delivery?

On every estate there is an experienced midwife. Negro women in general are exceedingly unwilling to be removed from their own houses, to be delivered in hospitals or in any houses prepared for them; and they most generally are delivered at their own houses; the midwife and nurses occasionally attend: during the first month after their delivery they do no work, and with respect to what may be proper for them in the way of medicine, or in the way of food, the midwife generally applies to the overseer, who directly orders it. But I have known instances, and indeed too many, I have heard instances too many, and I believe them, where young Negro women have, through carelessness, been the cause of the deaths of their infants, and sometimes, I am sorry to say, by design, to prevent their children being an incumbrance upon their pleasures or upon their profits in a certain way; but this is prevented, or has been prevented, at least so far as my knowledge has gone, as much as possible.

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Whether

Whether the treatment of some of the diseases peculiar to the Negroes, is not better understood by themselves than by the Europeans?

There may be some; but in general, I think, as far my experience enables me to judge, that much more harm than good has been done by Negro nurses prescribing and administering nostrums of their own; and I think it is always best, when they are ill of any complaint, to apply to the doctor; more particularly in venereal cases. Negro quacks have done infinite mischief.

Can you state what in general is the proportion between cultivated and uncultivated land in Jamaica?

By the returns of the surveyors to the House of Assembly, the quantity of acres contained in the whole island, as far as I recollect, amounted to something more than four millions of acres; by the report of the Committee of Assembly and Council in the year 1789, it was found, that there were 1,907,589 acres of land, patented, and subject to pay quit-rents; and this was taken from the receivers-generals books, which, in general, in this respect, are very correct. The same report states, that about 1,000,000 of acres, of the above 1,907,589 acres, was in cultivation: but I doubt the correctness of this computation myself; it was made entirely upon hypothesis; but I think that more than one half of the patented land is now wood, or uncultivated waste: a very great proportion of all the uncultivated land, that is, the 907,589 acres, or whatever the quantity may be, is fit only for growing coffee, cotton, tobacco, ginger, provisions, and grass farms, not sugar. But there are also, to my knowledge, large tracts of land still uncultivated, very fit to be extended, and to be settled into very extensive sugar plantations; and on this occasion, I will mention one very striking case within my own particular knowledge, and a very recent one:—An estate in the parish of St. George, which belonged to Mr. White, was mortgaged to a very respectable commercial house in this city, for a very large sum of money. I was the attorney, while in Jamaica, for that house, for the recovery of the money due upon this mortgage, with another gentleman; and we recommended to our constituent, after full consideration, to purchase the estate out-right from the mortgagor, which he agreed to do; and actually did purchase it for 36,000*l.* sterling. This estate consists of near 3,000 acres of land, of which there are not any thing like 500 in cultivation, of any kind, and only about 180 Negroes, with but a very indifferent set of works, much out of repair; and the valuable part of the estate we certainly

tainly considered to be the land. It was on account of the value of the land that we recommended this purchase to our constituents; and were the land out of the question, and the estate as it now stands, the cultivated part of it, with the Negroes upon it, to be the object of purchase, then I would not give for the estate 18,000*l.* which is one half of what my constituents took the estate for. And should not my constituents be able to put labour to bring that land into cultivation, their loss will certainly be what I have mentioned.

(*By a Lord.*) Do you mean to say, that with respect to that estate, the uncultivated land is equal in value to the land in cultivation, together with the Negroes and Slaves?

Yes; the cultivated part of the estate I consider, with the value of the Negroes and the works, not to be equal in value to the uncultivated part of the land.

As you reckoned it, it appeared to be exactly equal?

In my own opinion, the uncultivated part of the land, if matters are to remain in the situation they are in now, is of much more value than the cultivated part, in the actual situation in which it was purchased.

(*By Counsel.*) In the case of lands that have been long settled, have they, in general, a sufficiency of labour in point of Negroes; or are they, what is called, under-handed?

I think, that more than nineteen-twentieths of all the sugar estates in Jamaica are at this moment very much under-handed; and a great proportion of the estates have hitherto been enabled to make the produce they have made by the application of hired labour, in addition to the Negroes upon the different estates.

What do you mean by hired labour?

There are a number of people in Jamaica, who have gangs of Negroes employed in doing jobs, and which are hired out to assist the labour of estates.

Can West India estates be cultivated by the labour of Europeans?

I think it is not possible.

The cultivation of estates in Jamaica depending upon the sufficiency of Negro strength, will it be possible to keep up the strength, such as it now is, if the future importation from Africa be prohibited?

I think it will be impossible.

What

What do you conceive, from your own knowledge of the subject, would be the immediate effect produced by such abolition, upon the proprietors of estates, upon the annuitants, mortgagees, and others?

I have already given, in evidence, that in my opinion, more than nineteen-twentieths of the estates in Jamaica are under-handed. I myself know a great number of estates now in infancy, but a much greater where the want of Slaves is very great. I think, that every estate that is under-handed, would, in process of time, be thrown up; and such Negroes as should be left at the time of throwing up, would be sold to the rich and opulent proprietors of lands: consequently, that the works of such estates would become of no value whatever, and the proprietors, of course, being ruined, their creditors, annuitants, and all other dependants upon them, must suffer accordingly.

Having spoken to what would be the effect of such a measure, with reference to the interests of persons in this country having property in the West Indies, what would be the effect of such abolition on the Negroes themselves?

I think, in the first place, it would dispirit them very much, as they always are exceedingly anxious, on every estate, for an additional strength of Negroes, and particularly of females:—if they were cut off from any hopes of such addition, they certainly would become very much discontented. And, as a great number of the estates in Jamaica are deeply mortgaged, and otherwise encumbered, it is much to be feared the proprietors might, through necessity, and to keep up engagements, require much more labour from their Negroes than would be proper or right; and this, in itself, must be of the worst consequence to the Negroes. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that the Negroes now in Jamaica would suffer very many evils by an abolition of the Slave Trade.

What would be the effect of such abolition, with respect to White persons on the island, now employed in carrying on the plantations there?

When I went to Jamaica in the year 1760, and was first acquainted with plantations, the White servants on estates were in general indented servants, low, worthless, dissolute people, picked up in the streets of London, and sometimes taken from gaols. When these people came upon the estates, they were always found very worthless, and of course seldom very well treated. In the progress of a few years the proprietors found it their interest to procure servants of a different description; and they found a great number

number of young gentlemen respectably born, and respectably educated, who were induced to go to Jamaica, in the expectation that by their good conduct, and by the assistance that their friends might give them, they might acquire property.—A number of these young people came to the country, and were employed upon the estates: the consequence was, in the first place, that all the White people upon the estates lived together, had one table, one house, one treatment. The manager of the estate being the superior, these people in general conducted themselves well, because they knew that upon their good conduct depended their being preferred to higher and better situations; and gradually a number of them succeeded to be managers of estates. When they first went out, the salaries given to them were barely necessary to find them in clothes, every thing else being provided on the estate: when they became overseers their salaries were larger, and they were enabled from these salaries to make purchases of Negroes: if they had any friends, or if they had any money of their own, any patrimony, or any credit, as soon as they became overseers, they generally endeavoured to purchase Negroes; and the purchase of Negroes was the only source from which they could expect to increase their property in money. Accordingly, after overseers and managers had acquired a certain number of Negroes, they generally looked out for the purchase of land, and upon that land made settlements. After acquiring a certain number of Negroes, they usually gave up their situations as servants or managers of estates, and settled for themselves, and gradually acquired very considerable property; so that, in my knowledge of Jamaica for upwards of thirty years, I know many proprietors of sugar estates, now in opulent circumstances, who began in this manner; but a greater number of small settlers in coffee, cotton, and other productions, and also a great number of jobbers. Jobbers are people who hire out their Negroes to do jobs upon estates, such as planting of canes, felling of woods, and all the other laborious parts of the business of a sugar estate, and who also in crop-time hire them out by the day. I consider then, that an Abolition of the Slave Trade would undoubtedly have the effect of preventing the present proprietors in Jamaica from having or being able to procure any White persons as servants, of the description I have mentioned; because there would be no inducement for their going to Jamaica at the risk of their lives, for thirty pounds a year, or even for a hundred pounds a year, which is the utmost that they could expect to advance themselves to; the purchase of Negroes being the only source by which they can acquire property. Un-
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fortunately,

fortunately, marriage in Jamaica is not much in vogue; and very few, a very small portion of the settlers of the description I have now given, marry: and it is very certain, that life in that climate is infinitely more precarious than it is in this or in any European country, and the present stock of small settlers, and White servants, will very soon be extinguished, unless supplied by others.

Will not the diminution in the number of White persons weaken the internal security, and in so much endanger the safety of the island?

It certainly will; for in the country parishes the White servants upon estates, and the small settlers, form a very great proportion indeed of the militia.

Whether the several districts of the island, those now in cultivation, have not in general become proportionably healthy as the land has been cleared of wood?

They certainly have.

Having stated, that the consequence of the Abolition would be, that many of the lands of the small settlers now in cultivation would be thrown up: whether there would not be a speedy re-production of wood upon these lands?

There would be a speedy re-production of wood—that is, of soft wood, shrubs, and a variety of other vegetables, to cover the whole surface, and in time of the harder woods; but the land would, in a very few years, be covered so as to affect the climate.

Can you say whether the plough can be used in Jamaica with any considerable success for the cultivation of estates?

I have reason to believe, that the plough is now as much used in Jamaica as it possibly can be used to advantage, and that is very little. In the first place, more than two-thirds of the estates in Jamaica are of such unequal surfaces, so mountainous, and in other places, particularly in the districts of Trelawny and Saint James, the land is so rocky, that no plough can possibly be used upon them. A number of districts in Jamaica, particularly in the dry weather countries, keep the cane upon the stock as long as it continues to bear: by keeping the cane upon the stock, I mean, cutting first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth ratoon. Ratoon is a cutting every year, and on many estates that I know thus situated, the whole surface is cut every year, and no canes re-planted. However, in time, these cane stocks wear out, and then there is a necessity for planting; but the proportion re-planted upon these
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estates

estates every year is very small: I myself can speak of one estate in particular, where I knew the plough used from the year 1775 until the year 1790, except the time that I was absent. In the year 1775, the proprietor of that estate, a Mr. Freeman in Hertfordshire, a very respectable character, and a very good farmer both in theory and practice, went out to Jamaica, and carried with him two good ploughmen, with ploughs of various kinds to be used upon his estate, which is entirely a flat estate; that is, so flat as to admit of ploughing exceedingly well: very little difficulty was found in breaking the cattle to the plough, and teaching the Negroes to drive them. Upon this estate, one-quarter of the surface was replanted every year; Mr. Freeman staid in the country seven months, and then he appointed me his attorney, joined with another gentleman. We continued the use of the plough as long as I staid in the country, which was till the year 1780; and after my departure also until my return in the year 1788; and every sort of attention was given to make it turn out to advantage. Upon my return in the year 1788, I was exceedingly surprized to find the appearance of the estate very much altered for the worse, and a considerable diminution of the number of Negroes. Upon inquiry, and full investigation, I found that the manner in which the plough had been used had exhausted a very great proportion of the land, so as to render it almost incapable of yielding any thing, with any degree of labour laid out upon it. Fortunately for the estate there was some new land contiguous to the works, on which I made some experiments, which turned out very well, in consequence of which I was enabled to throw up or to throw out one-third of the old land to rest; and upon the fullest investigation, and consulting with all my neighbours in that part of the country, I determined to quit the use of the plough entirely. I know that many gentlemen who had used the plough have been obliged to do the same; but the plough still may be used, in my opinion, to considerable advantage, to save labour in such soils as will admit of holes or trenches being made by the plough; that is, where the lands are light, but I think not otherwise; and I know several estates where it is so used. With respect to the estate I have mentioned, it cannot be used in that manner, because the soil is infinitely too stiff and hard.

Are you then, from your experience, of opinion, that the use of the plough could be made more general than it now is, so as to diminish the actual labour, and in that respect to make the use of Slaves less necessary?

I do

I do not think it possible; and I will add, that if the plough could be used to every advantage to which it might be applied, that it would not in any way diminish the present strength required upon sugar estates, supposing it not to be attended with disadvantage; but with every advantage that it is in this country, it would then not diminish the number of Negroes requisite upon sugar estates, because the taking off the crops of sugar requires the greatest labour to do it properly; and on this operation the success of a sugar estate depends, perhaps, more than upon any other; and even where all the canes of new plants are put in by hired labour, which is frequently the case, the more canes are to be cut, the more Negroes are wanted to take off the crop.

(*By a Lord.*) Do you mean to say, that the plough is now used as much in Jamaica as it possibly can be?

It is my opinion that it is.

(*By a Lord.*) When Mr. Freeman first introduced the plough upon his estate, did he continue to use the same number of Negroes?

He certainly did.

To what cause do you impute the diminution of the number of Negroes upon Mr. Freeman's estates when you returned to it at the period you mentioned?

I attribute the diminution in a very considerable degree to the effect of the hurricanes, particularly in the year 1786.

Did Mr. Freeman derive more than usual profits from the estate during the time he used the plough?

I think the contrary; in the first years the plant canes in particular were very luxuriant; but the first and second ratoon were found, after four or five years, to yield much less in proportion than they used to do before the plough was used.

In what manner does a hurricane contribute to the destruction of the Negroes?

I cannot speak with respect to my own knowledge upon this subject, because I never knew a hurricane all the while I was in Jamaica. I left Jamaica in September 1780, and did not return until January 1788; during my absence, there were five or six hurricanes, but none for twenty years before, while I resided in Jamaica, so that I cannot speak to this question of my own knowledge.

In

In most situations where the plough could be used, would it or would it not exhaust the lands, and consequently increase the labour?

By exhausting the land, which I think it has done in every place where it has been used, it certainly increases the labour.

Have not the settlement of pens or farms for breeding cattle in Jamaica, been greatly extended within the last twenty years?

They have very much, within my knowledge.

Have not such settlements been highly advantageous, not only to the settlers but to the island in general?

They certainly have been highly advantageous to the island in general, in many respects; and they also have been advantageous settlements for the settlers. I conceive the extension of those pens, the quantity of land in pasture, and the consequent number of cattle bred upon the island, to have been a very material circumstance in bringing about the present prosperous state of the island of Jamaica. On every estate cattle are used for labour, and since the extension of these pens, the importation of salted provisions from Ireland and from North America has not been one-fourth what it was thirty years ago for the use of estates; the plenty of cattle has furnished the means of beef being killed in every small village, or district, always once a week, sometimes twice, sometimes thrice: not only the White servants upon estates find the beef supplied to them in this manner very healthy, but the weakly Negroes are also very frequently supplied with the offals, and frequently with the beef; and all this has been the effect of the extensive farms of cattle made in the island of Jamaica.

Are there not large tracts of lands still uncultivated which might be further settled, as pens; and would not the further settlement of them be still more beneficial to the country?

There is to my knowledge a very large tract of country in the middle of the island of Jamaica, running from east to west, highly adapted for the extension of such farms; and I think that they will be extended, and that still greater benefit will arise to the country at large from such extension, if the African trade in Negroes should not be abolished.

What would be the effect of an abolition of that trade with respect to the pens now settled, and the tracts of land capable of being reduced into pens?

I think the pens now settled would be very much injured, if there were an abolition of the Slave trade, because many of those still

want Negroes, and because the prosperity of those farms depends upon the good condition and prosperity of the sugar estates, which would, in my opinion, gradually fall to ruin, if an abolition were to take place.

Do you know of any measures adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica to prevent the importation of Negroes above a certain age?

In the year 1774, the Assembly of Jamaica passed a law to lay a heavy duty upon all Negroes to be imported from Africa above the age of thirty years, and that bill passed into a law by the Council and Governor; but upon the application of the African merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, this law was disallowed by the King and Council.

Having spoken to the general treatment and condition of the Slaves at the present time, whether it appears to you to be in a state of progressive improvement?

I have observed a progressive improvement with respect to the treatment of Negroes, particularly within these twenty years, very much for the better; and I think that the same improvement will go on under the regulations contained in the present Negro code of laws in Jamaica, and such others as the Assembly may think it proper hereafter to add; but I know no circumstance that has tended so much to the improvement I have mentioned, as the character of the managers and White servants employed upon the estates.

Will or will not the abolition of the Slave trade promote or check this improvement in the state and happiness of the Negro Slaves in the island of Jamaica?

I think it would check it much.

(*By a Lord.*) In what way?

In the first place, by discouraging the Negroes, which I have mentioned before; and in the next place, by over-labouring them so as to make them very indifferent with respect to their future situation and circumstances.

What sort of discouragement is it you suppose the Negroes would find?

The discouragement the Negroes would find, would be, the certainty that they should have no assistance to help them out in their labour.

Can you say, whether the Negroes belonging to estates underhanded are more subject to mortality than the Negroes belonging to estates that are well stocked?

I think

I think they are; I am sure they are.

Can you say whether the Negroes belonging to small planters are more subject to mortality than the Negroes belonging to wealthy planters?

In my last answer I meant to speak of sugar estates. With respect to small planters, I think that the diminution of their Slaves is in a considerably less proportion than upon large estates, upon sugar estates; but there are a vast number of small settlements that are very much under-handed also; and where this is the case, the same cause will operate as in sugar estates.

(*By Counsel.*) Whether on the whole, from your knowledge of the subject, and experience as a planter, the abolition of the Slave trade would be a measure indifferent, beneficial, or ruinous to the cultivation of the island of Jamaica?

I think, with respect to the island of Jamaica, that there can be no doubt of its being ruinous in the extreme.

Examined by the Lords.

Would you look upon an estate of three hundred acres thinly supplied with Negroes, or an estate of two hundred acres very well supplied, to be most advantageous to the proprietors of such estates?

My answer to that question is, that in Jamaica a sugar estate of two hundred acres would not be worth cultivating, nor of three hundred acres scarcely, because it is not canes alone that are necessary upon a sugar estate. I have stated that Negro provisions are the first object, then pasture for cattle; so that, in fact, upon almost every estate in Jamaica, which we call a well conditioned estate, there seldom is above one-third of the freehold applied to the use of the cane. Now, the contingent expences upon a small sugar estate are, in many respects, as great as the contingent expences upon a larger one; that is, there must be pretty nearly the same number of servants, and several other circumstances that render certain expences as great upon small estates as upon great ones; and consequently the settlement of all small sugar works is in general very unprofitable.

Take it upon a larger scale; do you think that a small estate over-handed, or a large estate under-handed, would be more advantageous to the planter?

That is a question of some difficulty; it is all a question of judgment; I think that a small estate full-handed would certainly be
a great

a great deal more advantageous for the planter than a large estate under-handed, provided that additional Negro labour could not be got for hire.

Do not you look upon an estate as incomplete without an hospital upon it for the sick?

I do not know one large sugar estate in Jamaica, of my own knowledge, that wants one, that has not an hospital of some kind or other; and in general, as I mentioned in answer to a former question, very great improvements have been made in this respect, and are still making.

Whether you have ever seen any other machine than the plough, which you think might be adopted to supply the deficiency of Negro labour.

I never have.

Do you think that established estates require a greater supply of Negroes than new estates?

I know from my own experience, that an old settled estate requires a greater number of Negroes than a new settled estate; because, as the land becomes exhausted, which it necessarily will become by being often turned up, additional labour is necessary, particularly for making manure, and carrying out that manure, and from being obliged to turn up the land much oftener; that is, instead of one-quarter, or one-fifth, or one-sixth, or one-tenth or twentieth on old estates, they seldom cut more than one ratoon, thus stocking up one-third of the whole surface in canes; this necessarily therefore increases the labour upon an old estate.

If an old sugar plantation was to be given up for want of Negroes sufficient to carry it on, could it be converted into a cotton plantation?

I am less acquainted with the cultivation of cotton than with any other article of the produce of Jamaica; but I have observed in other islands, particularly in Barbadoes, that cotton has grown upon land that had been in canes, and which had been used for growing canes; I do not recollect any instance in Jamaica, of my own knowledge; but when old sugar estates are thrown up, the land generally is very much exhausted, for the sugar-cane does exhaust land very much; and I should conceive that cotton would not be a very profitable production on such a field; but this is mere opinion.

Does it occur to you, that an old sugar estate, given up for want of Negroes to cultivate it, could be converted to any other purpose equally or nearly as profitable to the owner?

I do

I do not think it could by any means. I am sure that it could not produce coffee, nor could it produce any provisions, except corn and potatoes.

Are not the mills, and other buildings upon a sugar estate, articles of great expence?

They are of a very great expence.

Does it occur to you that they could possibly be converted to any other use?

No; it does not.

You have said that you think a small estate full-handed, or a sugar estate under-handed, would be of greater advantage to the planter than a large estate under-handed, provided that additional Negro labour could not be got for hire; do you not think that the abolition of the Slave trade would in a great measure annihilate the possibility of hiring Negroes?

I think there is no doubt that it would in a very few years.

You have said, if the abolition were to take place it would be attended with many evils to the existing Slaves, by overworking the remainder; what other evils besides those you have specified would, in your opinion, arise to the Negroes from the abolition of the Slave trade?

I specified a great number—they would be dispirited in the extreme; but I will add another, as matter of opinion, that the circumstances of the proprietor being ruinous, as I conceive they would be by an abolition of the Slave trade, would put it out of his power to give to his Negroes clothing, and other necessaries, in the manner that they are given now.

Does it ever happen, that the Negroes, when they run away, pass from the island of Jamaica to the island of Saint Domingo, or *vice versa*?

I have known some instances of Negroes getting to the island of Saint Domingo among the French; but on those occasions the French government and French people very liberally returned those Negroes when discovered and claimed. I have known Negroes, but very few of those Negroes, employed as fishermen, or about boats and vessels at Saint Domingo, run away to Jamaica.

Suppose the government and people of those two islands were not to discourage this passage, would it be possible to prevent Negroes from being brought into the island of Jamaica?

I think that it would not be possible to prevent Negroes from being

ing brought into the island of Jamaica, if the passage were left open between both the islands.

(*By a Lord.*) Did you say, that the use of the plough, upon Mr. Freeman's estate, after the first year, very much impoverished the land?

After the first five years.

Whether that land might not be restored, as it is in this country, by the use of manure?

As all land ploughed upon Mr. Freeman's estate from the very beginning was old land, it was requisite to give it the same portion of manure that it used to have formerly, and in the progress of the second and third ploughing, we found it necessary to increase the quantity of manure.

What is the expence of manure in that country to planters, or can they easily procure it?

All the manure used upon sugar estates is made upon those estates by the labour of the Negroes upon the estates, and by the cattle used upon the estates, with some compost, such as marl, white loam, and very frequently the dirt taken out of ponds, and by the intermixture of different soils with the animal dung or manure; but the whole is made upon the estate, and I never knew of any dung or manure being purchased from one estate to another, nor of any persons employing themselves and their Negroes in any such business.

Suppose, by a hurricane, or by any other accident, Negroes were to be taken away, could the planter have any means whatever of restoring the number of his Negroes, in case the African Slave trade were abolished?

If the African Slave trade were abolished by the whole world, and not carried on by foreigners, I think it would be impossible to restore Negroes, so lost, by any means; but if the trade were to be carried on by foreigners after its being abolished by Great Britain, then I am decidedly of opinion, that the planters of Jamaica would be induced to get Negroes; although in getting them very great risks and inconveniences might be incurred.

Could a planter in such a situation purchase Negroes in the island itself, out of the existing stock in the island?

In certain cases, and to a certain time, the opulent planter might supply the number of Negroes wanted, by purchasing from the needy and distressed planter; but I think, that in a short time that resource would entirely fail.

Whether the Slaves belonging to the jobbers are as well treated, and no more worked, than those belonging to the planters?

I think that they are full as well treated, and not more worked than they are very well capable of bearing.

The question put was—Whether they are no more worked than those Slaves which are the property of the planters?

I think they are not more worked.

Is there much more mortality among that description of Negroes than among those belonging to the planters?

It has not occurred to me to observe any difference.

Has the jobber an hospital, and plantation grounds for the Negroes to work for themselves?

Always, when he has a sufficient gang to job.

What number of jobbing Negroes do you suppose there are in Jamaica?

It is impossible for me even to hazard an opinion upon that head.

Who keeps the Negroes at the time they are so hired out, the man that hires them, or the jobber himself?

Generally the jobber himself.

When you spoke of the confinement of pregnant women, what sort of confinement did you intend?

The confinement I meant was sometimes confinement in the stocks; at other times, confinement in the room of the hospital particularly appropriated for that purpose; but I mentioned, that I did not know any instance of a case myself, to my own knowledge, even of confinement.

You were understood to say, that when the pregnancy became visible, the pregnant women were confined to keep them from rambling?

I have heard so; I do not know it myself.

For how long time of their pregnancy does that confinement last?

The confinement, as I have heard, is only occasional.

Not continual?

By no means.

A confinement by way of punishment for rambling?

Yes; occasionally.

When

When you speak of the destruction of Negroes in consequence of hurricanes, do you mean the immediate destruction of their persons, or that hurricanes make the place unhealthy, and so destroy them in the end?

I have already given in evidence, that to my own knowledge I know nothing at all of the effects of hurricanes; and as it is probable that other witnesses will be called who know them very well, I would wish to say nothing upon the subject. I stated that no hurricanes had happened at any period during my residence in Jamaica.

Then, of your own knowledge you do not know that it does destroy their lives?

I do not know it of my own knowledge; but I can conceive, that the effects upon Negroes with respect to mortality must be very great from various causes: in the first place, the risk of their being hurt by houses falling upon them; for in all cases of hurricanes the Negroes generally resort to the works and the great houses, as these are always more secure than their own little cabbins, which are slightly put up. When these works are blown down, many accidents must happen. The amazing falls of rain which always attend hurricanes, must certainly have the worst effects upon Negroes, when exposed to it, and be the cause of many fevers, pleurifies, and other disorders. The almost certain destruction of all standing provisions upon estates must necessarily cause a great scarcity after hurricanes. The vegetation, by the quantity of rain that falls, is generally rapid, and the Negroes are too often very apt to use those provisions in a green state; and when they do so, it seldom fails of causing epidemical fluxes in particular, which carry off a great number. I speak this from my own conceptions, and from different conversations I have had with other gentlemen upon the subject.

Is not White labour more equal to the cultivation of pens than to the cultivation of sugar?

I think it is not suited to either; but it might be less immediately destructive to White people upon pens than upon sugar estates. Upon pens great part of the labour is the felling and clearing the land, which cannot be done without exposing the labourer to the heat of the sun. Another part of the labour of pens is, the cleaning of the pasture, which is necessary to be done in all pens to preserve the grass; this must also be done, exposed to the sun; the pens in general, I mean lately settled, within these twenty years, being in the interior parts of the country, the climate is somewhat cooler, is considerably

considerably cooler than it is on the sea-side estates, and on those sugar estates that are not at considerable distances from the sea: the climate in the interior parts of the country certainly is cooler considerably than in those parts of the country nearest the sea. But I conclude with saying, that the White people to be employed upon pens, would in time be all destroyed by the heat of the climate, even in the coolest situations in Jamaica; at least, such is my opinion, upon the best consideration I have been able to give the subject.

Supposing the cultivation of Jamaica could not be kept up without Slaves, do you think that Great Britain, with her immense capital, could afford Slaves much cheaper than any other country employing a much less capital?

Unquestionably.

You are understood to have said, that you have been in Barbadoes, and had observed the cultivation of cotton there; how long was you in Barbadoes?

Not long enough to make any observation in that respect, that I would hazard to give upon my examination at the bar of this House.

At what price are the jobbing Negroes hired; by the day or by the week?

When I left Jamaica last, the price paid to jobbers for holeing land, that is, preparing land to be planted per acre, was six pounds Jamaica currency per acre; for holeing and planting, it was 7*l.* 1*os.* When Negroes were employed by the day labour, the usual price was three bits or three ryals a day, equal to very near eighteen-pence sterling, with an allowance of two bits a week for their provisions, and a certain number of herrings given to them weekly.

Are these jobbing Negroes indispensably necessary for the occasional assistance of the Negroes permanently employed upon these estates?

That depends in a great measure upon the numbers of Negroes upon the estates. When an estate is full-handed, such assistance may not be necessary; but where the case is otherwise, to keep up the usual produce, it is indispensable.

Is it possible, or has it ever happened, that all the estates have been so full-handed as not to make these jobbing Negroes necessary in point of fact?

During my experience, certainly not.

Z

Has

Has it fallen within your knowledge to know what is the value of all the mortgaged estates in the island of Jamaica?

It is not possible for me to answer that question with any degree of precision, nor can I indeed hazard any calculation upon the subject; I have often heard it computed or reckoned, that more than one-third of the estates in Jamaica were under mortgage; I am very much inclined to think that the number is greater than one-third.

Do you at all know the number of mortgages?

I cannot say I do.

Do you know why the decrease of Negroes upon mortgaged estates, is so much greater than upon others, in the case you have mentioned of those estates being foreclosed and sold?

I did not say that the decrease was greater; I only stated, that the instances of mortgaged estates, coming under my own particular knowledge, from the office which I executed in Jamaica, enabled me to form an estimate of the general decrease as a circumstance.

Do you know, whether the mortality of Negroes is greater or less in the dry-weather parishes than in others?

It is less in dry-weather parishes than it is in others.

You have stated, that to your knowledge, there are large tracts of land uncultivated which are fit for sugar plantations; can you make any rough computation of the number of Slaves necessary to be imported for bringing those lands into cultivation, as sugar lands?

My answer to that question must be very limited, as it is a very extensive question, and requiring great consideration: I have often thought, from my knowledge of Jamaica, that there is land enough, of the quantity now patented, uncultivated, that might be applied to the cultivation of sugar, to produce 50,000 hogsheds a year more than the present produce; the number of Negroes necessary to labour such lands, and for such produce, must, in my opinion, require at least 70,000 Negroes. I request, that this answer may be considered as given not with that consideration which I should wish to give to a question of such magnitude.

You were understood to say, that old sugar plantations which have been long cultivated, necessarily require a greater number of Negroes than new sugar plantations; is it to be inferred from thence, that if no new lands should be cultivated in Jamaica, in process of time,

time, those very lands now cultivated will require a much larger number of Negroes?

I am certainly of opinion, that that must be the case.

What measures, if any, are taken in Jamaica, to instruct the Negroes, either those born in the country, or those imported, in moral and religious duties?

Hitherto very little instruction has been attempted to be given to Negroes, either Creole Negroes or imported Negroes, with respect to religion. With respect to morals, good managers of estates, and proprietors, and attorneys for proprietors, do generally inculcate as much as they possibly can, in conversation with the sensible Negroes upon estates, moral duties and sentiments of morality. I have known myself, in my own experience, that advice given to sensible, steady old Negroes, on that subject, has had a very good effect. Some few instances I have known; one in particular, of Mr. Foster Baron having sent out a Moravian teacher upon his estate, to instruct his Negroes in the Christian religion. I have been upon that estate once or twice, and I am very intimately acquainted with the gentleman who directed it for many years, and who is now in England; I understood, in the conversations I had with him, that very little if any progress had been made by that missionary.

Are there any persons appointed in the island to give them such instructions—Do the clergymen of the island think it no part of their duty?

In every parish in Jamaica there is a rector. The livings are in the gift of the governor; and none are appointed to them who have not been regularly ordained in the church of England. I am very sorry to be obliged to say, that in my own experience of Jamaica for upwards of 30 years, generally speaking, the morals of the clergy sent from this country, and who fill those livings, were very bad; not exemplary at all, in any respect, either to Whites or to Blacks; and I do not recollect an instance of their applying themselves to the instruction of Negroes in the Christian religion.

The persons that apply for ordination, are they sent from the islands to this country, or do they go from this country to the islands?

I have known several instances of persons sent from Jamaica with recommendations to be ordained, with a promise of livings as a provision for them; but in general, that is, by far the greater number of clergymen that have come to Jamaica have come there as strangers from this country—ordained in this country.

Do you know that this has been the case of late years; have the persons ordained been sent from the island, or have they been sent from this country to the island within these four or five years?

I have known instances within that time of both the cases stated.

But which is the greatest number?

I cannot answer with any certainty.

Have you ever seen any of the written papers that have been sent by the Bishop of London to the island of Jamaica, requiring testimonials and other certificates of the morals of the candidates of that island for ordination?

I do not recollect; but I may have heard of such instructions being sent by the Bishop of London, but I never saw any of them.

What number of parishes are there in Jamaica?

Twenty-one.

Can you specify the number of Whites in each parish?

Not precisely.

Can you give a general account of the number of the Whites in each parish, or a general account of the whole?

The number of Whites differ exceedingly in one parish from another.

What may be the whole number of Whites?

I should suppose the whole number of Whites in Jamaica does not much exceed 20,000.

Whether you do not think 20,000 Whites are as much as twenty-one clergymen can properly take care of?

I am very little capable of answering that question; if I am to do it by comparison of what I know in some parts of Great-Britain, I should think that the number of twenty-one to instruct 20,000 is very sufficient.

Can the twenty-one clergymen instruct Negroes into the bargain?

I think they might—some.

It was stated, that the number of Negroes in the island of Jamaica is about 247,000; whether you think twenty-one clergymen are equal to the conversion and instruction of 247,000 Negroes?

I should think not; certainly not.

Whether

Whether any blame rests upon the clergy in Jamaica for not converting and instructing the Negroes?

I think great blame is to be imputed to the clergy in Jamaica, with some few exceptions certainly, for their immoral lives, and which is a very bad example to Negroes as well as Whites, and which I have observed to have had considerable effect.

Do you think that the conversion and the instruction of the Negroes in the Christian religion would tend to improve the morals, the health, and the numbers of the Negroes?

I believe, if it could be effected, that it certainly would.

Have you never heard of any instructions and exhortations being sent by the Bishop of London to the clergy in Jamaica, to use their utmost endeavours to convert and instruct the Negroes?

I have within the four last years of my residence in Jamaica heard it very frequently mentioned by some of the clergy, particularly by one gentleman, Mr. Warren, the rector of Saint Elizabeth, who I believe to be a very pious and excellent person in every respect.

Are the planters in Jamaica desirous that the Negroes should be so instructed and converted?

I believe that it is an object which they would be exceedingly glad were attainable.

What is in general the value of livings in Jamaica?

They differ considerably according to the population of the different parishes. The fixed salaries given to the clergy are pretty equal, except in three parishes; they are from two to three hundred pounds currency a-year in every parish but three; in three parishes, which are very poor parishes, the rectors have only one hundred pounds salary; where there are no glebes and glebe houses, fifty pounds currency a-year is allowed, in addition, for houses for them; the other emoluments depend upon fees on buryings, marriages, baptisms, &c.

Have they any clergy of their own colour; that is, are any of the Negroes ever in priest's orders?

I never knew any.

Do you think it would be desirable that they should be in priest's orders?

Many circumstances are to be considered in this respect. If Negroes were to be converted to Christianity, I think that Black officiating clergymen might be absolutely necessary; but much, very much remains to be done to prepare the minds of Negroes to receive

ceive any Christian instruction to any good effect; and I think that their character in general must be very much changed before that can happen.

What is the change you mean; and in what way is it to be effected?

A progress of understanding and acquaintance with moral duties, that might induce them to lead very different lives from what they do at present: dissolute lives I have already given in evidence to be one of the principal causes of the mortality amongst them.

Do you not think that instruction in the principles of the duties of Christianity would tend to produce this very change; that it would tend to make them lead more moral lives?

Undoubtedly that instruction, in process of time, as it would have that effect, must be beneficial.

Whether the expectation of the probability of the abolition of the Slave trade taking place, did not damp the spirit of improvement and of cultivation in the island of Jamaica, during the last four years you were there?

When I left Jamaica it had not had that effect, because it was the general opinion, after the determination of the House of Commons upon that subject last year, and the majority which there was against the abolition, that the question never would hereafter be agitated; consequently the spirit of settling was not abated, particularly as the encouragement, from the favourable prices of late years for the produce of Jamaica, was very great.

You said, if the Slave trade were to be abolished by Great Britain, and if no Slaves were to be imported into Jamaica, that the planter would risk the getting them from foreigners?

Yes.

Then would they not admit foreign Slave ships into their harbours, unless prevented by the king's forts and frigates stationed for that purpose?

I am decidedly of opinion they would, and be very glad to receive them.

Would they not do every thing to render the situation of the military and the navy unpleasant, who might be sent there for that purpose?

I know the people of Jamaica exceedingly well: I know their attachment to this country to have been always very great, and that they have ever been well disposed to shew every attention to the navy

navy and military upon all occasions; and I believe it is universally allowed, that Jamaica makes better provision for the troops sent there for its protection than any other country in his Majesty's dominions. Were the Slave trade abolished, the interests of the inhabitants would be so deeply hurt, that I must conceive that a very great change would take place with respect to this country, and that they might not on that account be so attentive nor so well treat the forces, particularly those forces that might be sent out to curb or check any illicit trade that might be carried on by planters, to procure for themselves Negroes.

What is the nature of the coast, whether it will admit small smuggling vessels bringing Negroes in different parts of the coast?

In almost every part of it there are creeks and landing places in which such vessels might be admitted with very great ease, so as to elude the vigilance of one half of the navy, or of a very great number of ships that might be sent out to prevent it.

Do you mean that these creeks and harbours cannot be guarded?

They may be guarded if the island is filled with soldiers, and all the ports with king's ships; but it would be very difficult to guard them with effect without a very great force indeed.

You have been understood to say, that Negroes are liable to be sold for the debts of their owners?

I believe I have not said that, but I am very glad the question is asked, because my official situation, as provost marshal general of the island, gave me an opportunity of knowing it, and I am ready to answer the question. Negroes are real estate, so far as respects inheritance; but personal estates, for the payment of personal debts and simple contracts, and that by acts of parliament—I think by the stat. 5th Geo. II. cap. 7. the stat. 13th Geo. III. cap. 14. and the stat. 14th Geo. III. cap. 79. For encouragement of credit, the Assembly of Jamaica have adopted these provisions in their own laws, so that Negroes are liable to be taken in execution, and to be sold for the debts of the owners.

How are they disposed of between the seizure and the time of sale?

When they are taken by distress, they are put into prison, and there necessarily detained for fourteen days at the least, that number of days being required to be given by the officer, that is, the provost marshal's deputy, who makes the seizure, before they can be sold; this is by a law of the country.

Whether these Negroes are sold at a public vendue, and how those of the Slaves are sold who have been seized for their master's debts,

debts, by the provost marshal, or his deputy; that is to say, whether sold together in one lot, or separately?

When the provost marshal's deputies make sales according to advertisement, the law requires that these sales should be made at public auction. Whenever families are taken together, or parts of families taken together, the courts of justice, in particular, have always recommended it to the provost marshal to direct his deputies, that these Negroes so taken in families shall be sold in lots together, and not separately; and I know one instance particularly, during the time of Mr. Grant being chief justice, of one sale of Negroes made, where the officer did not attend to this circumstance, being afterwards quashed, and a new sale ordered accordingly, which took place. Upon the chief justice mentioning the matter to me, as the first officer of the court, I gave directions universally that this should be strictly attended to, and it has been so accordingly.

Suppose, for instance, that there be a small debt, and that a whole family would be more than the amount of the debt, in that case must that family be separated or not?

The officer certainly can sell no more than what is necessary to pay the debt; consequently, some part of a family, a father, a mother, a son may be sold separately; but I would beg leave to mention, that this constitution is not the constitution of Jamaica, formed in Jamaica, but it is the constitution of an act of parliament.

What time in the week have the Negroes to cultivate their land for their provisions?

By the consolidated law, they are allowed every other Saturday; out of crop they have other days given to them occasionally with the Sundays.

You are understood to say, that at crop-time the Negroes were more healthy; to what is this to be ascribed?—Is it not to be ascribed to their having better nourishment at that time?

I ascribe it partly to the crop-time being always dry weather. I attribute it in great part to the quantity of the cane liquor, which they have almost at their pleasure to use: they boil their plantains in it, they drink it, they eat the canes, and it is found to be exceedingly nourishing and very wholesome. With respect to the general common allowances of provisions from the estate, there is no difference in crop-time than at any other, except now and then dealing out perhaps a little more grog to them, as it is called, a mixture of rum and water.

Whether the Negroes born in the island, or those imported, are the most healthy, and whether those imported are not more subject to the yaws and to other distempers?

Creole Negroes certainly, in the aggregate, are more healthy than Negroes imported, but these are subject to the yaws equally as imported Negroes; for the yaws is a disease like the small-pox with us, which all Negroes, or at least all plantation Negroes, are liable to have once in their lives: therefore, in that respect, there is no difference, except this, that the yaws generally has less fatal effects with young people than with grown people, and that a number of grown Negroes are imported from Africa who have not had that disease in their own country; and in Jamaica the mothers do all they can to get their children to have the yaws while they are young.

The mortality of the yaws, therefore, is greater among the imported Negroes than among the Creole Negroes?

I have stated it in one of my former answers.

Whether the drivers that go with the Negroes drive them with whips?

It is the custom for drivers to carry in their hands large whips, which whips they frequently smack and make a noise with, and sometimes apply to the Negroes who may be remiss and dilatory in their work.

Whether there are not several Negroes who are branded with hot irons with the initials of the owners names, and whether there are not frequently in the Jamaica papers advertisements to that effect?

It is generally a custom to brand all new Negroes as soon as purchased with the initials of the owners names; but I humbly conceive that this brand, so far from being a circumstance of cruelty, in many cases contributes very much to the benefit of the new Negroes, more particularly when they happen to wander from the plantations without a possibility of making themselves to be understood to say from whence they came; and the discovery where the Negroes belong to has very frequently been made by means of these marks, and they have in such cases been restored to their estates.

What is the amount of the tax upon the men and women Negroes *per head*; the poll-tax?

The poll-tax differs according to the exigency of government; sometimes it is ten shillings, sometimes two shillings, and I believe this very year it is 12s. 6d.

Is it equal on men and women?

It is.

At what age does it become payable?

It is payable at all ages, upon young and old, from the birth.

Whether this poll-tax being paid by women, and particularly being paid for children as soon as they are born, is or is not a great discouragement to population?

It is none at all, to my knowledge.

The tax is paid by the owner of the Slave, is it not?

Unquestionably.

Have the owners an equal interest in having Slaves born upon their estates, as if they had not to pay that tax in that form?

I do not understand the question.

If an owner has a child born upon his estate, which child cannot work, but for which he is obliged to pay the tax, is not that a discouragement to the owner to have a child born upon his estate, for so much as that tax amounts to?

It is not possible to conceive that a planter can be so exceedingly blind to his own interest, as to put the small quantum of the poll-tax upon a Negro child in competition with the advantages that he is to receive by that child in progress of time; it is not possible to conceive any thing so absurd.

The Question was read to the Witnesses.

I think it is impossible that any planter could be so absurd as to entertain any such idea; for the interest of a planter, perhaps his greatest interest, is rearing Negro children: for every Negro child that is reared upon an estate in Jamaica, is to the planter almost invaluable. The Negro reared upon an estate, is attached to the estate; he is acquainted with every Negro upon the estate; he is attached to his master; there is every sort of advantage in favour of that child when he grows up: now it cannot, I think, be possible, that with all these advantages, a proprietor could be influenced by the consideration of a poll-tax of perhaps two shillings upon one occasion a-year, three shillings upon another, or ten shillings, or even twenty shillings.

Are the markets generally held on Sunday for the surplus provisions that the Negroes raise?

They always are.

What is the average distance which the Negroes are obliged to go to attend those markets?

I cannot

I cannot mention any average distance, they differ so very much; there are some that the distance is not half a mile, and there are others that the distance is twenty miles.

Did you ever know of any instances of Slaves laying up property sufficient to purchase their freedom?

I have.

Were those field Slaves?

I have known field Slaves purchase their freedom but very seldom; but I will beg leave to mention an instance that occurs to me. Lord Harewood has property in Jamaica, and I had the honour of being his attorney. A Negro upon his estate of Williamstead, a very valuable servant, a cattle man and a mule man, had a daughter, a very great favourite; he applied to Lord Harewood's attornies, to request that they would give freedom to this girl, and that he would replace her by a new Negro of the highest price that could be obtained. Lord Harewood's attornies had not a power to manumise Negroes; they wrote to his Lordship, and his Lordship immediately answered the letter with a power of attorney, not only to manumise the girl but to manumise the Slave also, if he desired it: the girl was manumised, and the father did replace her by a very good and able Negro. Upon that occasion I spoke to the father, who was a very sensible Negro, a very sensible man, and a very excellent and well-disposed good man. I asked him, 'why he did not ask for his own freedom; that he was grown old, and that I had not a doubt that he might have his freedom, if he chose it, for little or nothing.' He told me, that he was exceedingly happy in his present situation; that if he had his freedom, he did not know but he might perhaps be obliged afterwards to quit the estate; that it might be very inconvenient to him, and be attended with considerable disadvantages; he thought himself infinitely happier in the situation he was in, and therefore thought fit so to remain; but with respect to his daughter, he said, that he could contrive to give her a Negro or two of her own property, that should be the means of taking care of her when he died.

On a farm consisting of pens to any given annual value, viz. 200 l. per annum, are there more or fewer Negroes required than on a sugar plantation of the same annual value, and nearly in what proportion?

I do not understand the question.

Suppose a plantation of 2,000 l. a-year, and a farm consisting of pens of equal value; are more Negroes required upon the one than upon the other?

There may be a difference, but I don't think it is great ; the capital invested in pens in the interior part of the country, taking into account the Negroes and the land, I think yield as good profit as sugar estates.

Suppose an estate of 2,000l. per ann. a sugar plantation, and another estate of 2,000l. per ann. consisting of pens, upon which of these two estates are there the greatest number of Negroes?

I believe that the greatest number of Negroes may be upon the sugar estate ; but I don't think that the difference is material ; it is impossible to throw all the lands into pens, because it would be impossible to dispose of the cattle if there were no consumers.

After the account which you have given of the Slaves that are reared in the island, do not you think it would be a very favourable thing for the planter to people his plantation with reared Slaves in preference to importing them?

Undoubtedly.

Are or are not the Slaves that are born in the island, marked or branded as well as those that are imported ?

On some occasions, not generally ; but on some occasions it is absolutely necessary ; as where there are Negroes upon an estate, and the interest in it is reversionary. There may be a certain number of Negroes upon an estate, which after the death of the proprietor may be disposed of in a different manner from the other Negroes upon it ; there it is necessary to distinguish, otherwise it would be difficult to know, by the loss of plantation books or otherwise, the Negroes that might belong to the separate interests ; in that case, a brand is necessary. A brand also is necessary, frequently, in cases of Slaves taken upon lease, and where the property continues vested in the lessor.

Of what nature is the brand, and how is it inflicted, and how is it applied ?

The brand is made of silver, two letters, which are about the size of half an inch, and it is applied upon the right or left shoulder ; a little oil is rubbed before the application, then the brand is heated with spirits of wine, and clapped instantly upon the shoulder, and drawn off ; it makes a small impression, and a little scab ; the effect of it seldom remains above four or five days.

Is it deemed a painful operation ?

It is not at all a painful operation, much the same as a shock of electricity.

What

What do you conceive would be the effect, if any, with regard to the Negroes, of the repeal of what are called the credit laws; would their condition be better, or rendered worse by it?

In the course of my official business I have very often been pained by the ill effects which the present mode of levying upon Negroes has had upon those Negroes, for there is nothing that a Negro dreads more than to be taken in execution for debt, in almost every case I ever knew, and it seldom or ever happens that he does not undergo very considerable distress. I think the condition of the Negro would be very greatly meliorated if he were attached to the soil, and made real estate, not subject to be levied upon for the payment of personal debts; and I have, in conversation very often with many of the leading gentlemen in the Assembly in Jamaica, heard their opinion upon the subject; which was, that were it not for the existing acts of parliament which prevented it, laws would be made in Jamaica for the purpose of attaching them to the soil, and making them real estate; but it was very well known that no governor would pass any law so immediately opposite and contrary to an act of parliament; and unless creditors should have an equivalent to make up for this security, even if such a law were to be passed in the island, the creditor would procure its disallowance here as an act of injustice to himself. But I have often thought, and I am still of opinion, that it would be for the interest of the creditor, generally, that the Negro should be made real estate instead of personal; if such a law were framed as to give the creditor a summary remedy for the recovery of his debt, by a sequestration under the authority of the court, what we call the Grand Court of Jamaica; and I have no doubt that such an alteration in the constitution, in Jamaica, would have a most salutary effect with respect to the Negroes, that it would be highly beneficial to the debtor, and that it would also be beneficial to the creditor.

Are you to be understood to say, that, in your opinion, the subsisting acts of parliament are the only bar to such an arrangement as you have stated?

I am of opinion, that if these acts did not exist, the legislature of Jamaica would very soon adopt some such plan as I have now mentioned.

Whether you, who are so well acquainted with Negroes, both those who are natives of Jamaica, and those who are imported, ever observed either of them to be affected by the heat of the sun, and to complain of working in the heat of the day?

C c

I never

I never remember to have known a Negro complain of too much heat from the climate; on the contrary, in the hottest times of the year, I have known a Negro lie by a fire in his own house: and I further remember a very extraordinary circumstance; in riding down the interval of a cane-piece, I observed a Negro fast asleep, when the sun was shining, about eight o'clock in the morning, lying close to the fire that was boiling the breakfast for the Negroes, at a time that I myself, on horseback, although sheltered by a very large white hat, was ready to faint.

Does that observation apply to Creoles, as well as to the Negroes imported?

It does, equally to the one as to the other.

Have you no such process as extent against the land, for recovery of debt?

We have, by a particular law of our own country.

And that is, upon a recovery for a simple contract debt, as well as for any other?

Yes; by recovery of debts upon judgment.

Who provides for the maintenance of the Negro when he is in prison, when taken in distress, till the vendue?

I think, the law of the country regulates, that the deputy-marshal, the officer of the provost-marshal, who is the gaol-keeper, shall provide the Negro with provisions, to the value of so much per day.

At whose expence?

The cost of the provisions is deducted from the produce of the sale, in the first instance.

How are they maintained whilst they are in prison; are they well and sufficiently maintained?

In general, they are.

Are they kept in as close confinement as criminal prisoners, or prisoners for debt, or other prisoners in the country?

They are kept in confinement in a prison that has a very considerable extent, a large open court, and they have rooms that they retire to when they sleep, or when they take their provisions; but the confinement they have in the prisons is by no means distressing for the time that they remain, for most of the gaols, indeed all the gaols in Jamaica have a very large extent within their walls.

What is the sort of distress, therefore, that the Slave suffers when he is taken in execution for his master's debts?

From being removed from a situation where he had made his own particular settlement, where he had any connections that he might have formed, and where he is under the necessity, if purchased by a stranger, of beginning the whole of his settlement anew, without any knowledge of the character of the person who may be his purchaser.

Is it usual to brand Creole Slaves in the same manner as those that are imported?

Only in the particular cases I mentioned in a former answer.

What are the cases?

Where there may be separate reversionary interests, it is necessary there to distinguish the progeny of the Negro women; for it would be difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish them, by the loss of plantation books and otherwise; and this brand therefore is very frequently made use of for that purpose; and it is also very frequently made use of in the cases of leased Slaves, where the property of the Slave continues vested in the lessor, to distinguish the Negroes.

And that applies to Creole Slaves as well as to others?

Yes.

In tenancies in common and in joint-tenancies do they brand them?

The tenure of Slaves with respect to inheritance is the same as the tenure of the land.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Die Veneris, 25^o Maij 1792.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into further Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West-India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the several Petitioners to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in support of their Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

Counsel were accordingly called in.

Then LEWIS CUTHBERT, Esquire, was again called in, and examined as follows:

(*By a Lord.*) Whether the price of Negroes has risen considerably of late years?

Since my knowledge of Jamaica the price of Negroes has risen, that is, of the prime Negroes, from 50*l.* to 75*l.* currency, in the course, I think, of thirty-one years.

Is it common for the Negroes to run away from the plantations?

It certainly happens frequently upon some estates; upon other estates very seldom.

Upon those estates where it does happen, to what cause is such running away to be ascribed?

The general cause I have always conceived to be a disposition in the Negro refractory with respect to work. There have been instances of Negroes having been induced to run away, when they have committed a fault or a crime deserving punishment, to avoid apprehension and punishment for it.

Why does this happen upon certain estates so much more than upon others?

Because upon certain estates there may be, and certainly are, a greater number of refractory Negroes than there are upon other estates: I can attribute it to no other cause.

D d

What

What is ordinarily the number of White servants upon a plantation?

We have a law in Jamaica called the Deficiency Law, which enacts, that a White person shall be kept for every thirty Negroes, and for every 150 head of stock; and in case of such deficiency, the proprietor of the plantation pays a tax, called the Deficiency Tax. That deficiency sometimes varies: what is called the single deficiency is 13 l. currency a year, double deficiency is 26 l. treble 39 l. which is the highest deficiency, I believe, there ever was. The common number of White people upon a well-conditioned, upon a well-appointed estate, is a manager, three book-keepers, of whom one generally is the distiller, and one or two tradesmen, sometimes more: I have known estates in Jamaica where there have been ten White people upon them; but in general there are from four to six.

What is the general number of Black domestics in families of condition in Jamaica?

This varies a good deal in some families. I have known the domestics, including the children, to be twenty; in other families, twelve. I myself, in my own family, seldom or never had fewer than eleven or twelve; that is, when my family was in Jamaica;—the last time I was out.

Whether the ploughs that you have known to be used, were very small ploughs, or very large, strong, and heavy ploughs?

I have known them of both descriptions, and of a middling description, particularly the plough for making cane holes for planting, which is done upon some estates, that is a very large plough; and I have known it drawn with ten oxen.

You have said, that you was the attorney of eleven or twelve estates; at what distance were those estates from the place of your ordinary residence?

They differ in distances: there were some estates at so great a distance that I could only visit them at most twice a year: but in all those cases I was joined with gentlemen resident upon the spot, or who were within a few miles of such estates; and my business, when I went upon those estates to visit them, was to consult with respect to the state of the plantations with the acting attorney. In no case, where I was attorney at any distance, was I the sole attorney; but there always was an attorney resident within a short distance of such plantation.

How was you, as attorney, paid; and how were the other attorneys paid: whether upon the sugar made?

By

By the law of Jamaica, and by the invariable usage of Jamaica, the commission paid to an attorney is six per cent. upon the gross produce; which six per cent. is divided equally between the attorneys, if there are one, two, or three, of them; but there are many cases where the attorneys agree to receive a certain salary in lieu of commission.

What was the number of Negroes seized generally in Jamaica in execution in the course of a year?

In the last part of my administration as provost marshal, the number of Negroes taken in actual distress at each of the courts of the year, for we have four courts, were very moderate; that is, I have known a court when there have not been ten Negroes sold by distress; but it very frequently happens, that Negroes, in order to make a title, must be sold under the precept of the provost marshal. In such cases the Negroes are never required to quit their situations until the very day of sale, although the advertisement precedes the sale at least fifteen days, according to law. These Negroes are never removed from their situations till the very day of sale; and then it is almost always the case in such sales, that they are purchased not to be removed from their situations, but to return there immediately. I beg leave further to add, and I know it most perfectly, that the gentleman executing the office which I did execute, has upon a variety of occasions prevented distress to Negroes, and distress to the debtor, in such cases as I have mentioned. When a precept issues from the provost marshal to his deputy, the deputy is required to execute it in the most expeditious manner; that is, to comply with the precept. The debtor very soon finds out the issuing of the writ by recurring to the provost marshal's books: he immediately applies to the creditor for indulgence, and very often, almost always, to the provost marshal for his friendly interference. And it very frequently happens, it has happened to myself, in cases where I had confidence in the debtor, to admit a levy of certain Negroes by name, trusting to the honour of the debtor, that if the debt should not be compromised before the first day of the court, when it is required that the Negroes should be sold, that then he would deliver up the Negroes to be sold in the regular and ordinary course of justice.

Are the Negro women employed in the field?
They are.

What was the proportion of males and females on the estates of which you had the superintendence?

That is a question I cannot answer with any precision; I can in
I general

general say, that upon all, there certainly was a greater number of males than females; but the disproportion was much less upon some estates than upon others.

Can you state the number of births and deaths on the estates of which you had the superintendence?

I cannot state it with precision at this moment, but a very exact account is kept upon every estate of the births and of the deaths; and that account (as has been given in evidence already) the doctor or surgeon of the plantation is obliged to give in upon oath every year, with an account of the particular diseases or accidents by which the Negroes have died.

What is the loss per cent. which is commonly sustained in the seasoning of imported Negroes?

That differs very much according to circumstances. Of all the estates that I had the direction of, the proprietors residing in this country were gentlemen of opulence. Whenever I purchased new Negroes for those estates, by paying ready money, I had the advantage of particular choices; consequently the Negroes that I purchased were, or might be, of better quality; that is, less subject to diseases than the Negroes taken upon the general plan. Therefore, the decrease in the seasoning of such Negroes I have known to be not much, not above from six to ten per cent. in the course of three years: but when the Negroes have been afflicted with the yaws, in particular, the loss has been much greater. With respect to the question generally, the loss is certainly very considerable, if we take into the account all the Negroes imported, and consider all the losses to be losses of seasoning them; certainly the loss is considerable upon the whole.

What do you mean by considerable upon the whole; how much per cent. to the best of your knowledge?

It varies most exceedingly; it varies according to particular circumstances, and to the condition of the cargo imported. It varies very much with respect to the particular part of the coast of Guinea that the Negroes come from.

Is it ten per cent. upon the whole?

I think that is a very moderate allowance upon the whole.

Is it twelve?

It may be; I dare say it is.

Is it fourteen?

I do not know.

Suppose

Suppose a jobbing gang of any number, and the same number of Negroes settled on a well-regulated estate; what will be the increase of population in the one, when compared with the increase of the other in a given time?

In my experience, I have observed, that the jobbers, particularly, lose, I think rather a smaller proportion of their Negroes for the first four or five years, than the same proportion upon a well-settled estate; but after these Negroes have remained with a jobber for a certain number of years, it is very customary with that jobber to sell those Negroes all together to some estate, near to where his settlement is, and to purchase a new set.

The question is not as to the decrease, but as to the increase of population?

It is impossible for me to answer that question; I cannot do it; because it varies so very much, that there is no such a thing as a general rule that I can hazard to offer.

What is the number of individuals of which a jobbing gang is composed in general?

I have known jobbers possessed of 120 Negroes, and I have known others possessed of no more than thirty or forty; under the last number a jobber cannot, with his own strength, undertake any job of any consequence.

Suppose a jobbing gang of 100, which do you say would produce more children in a year, those Negroes, or 100 Negroes settled in a well-regulated plantation?

I think that a hundred Negroes, supposing the sexes to be the same, upon a well-regulated plantation would produce more children than a hundred jobbing Negroes, and my reason is this; the hundred Negroes upon the estate are stationary, and are not removed. A jobbing gang is first in one part of the country, then in another, sometimes ten, fifteen, even as far as twenty miles from the place where the provision ground is; and they are less able to attend; and they are less furnished with grounds for themselves than the Negroes upon estates.

Describe the mode in which the Negroes work in the field in Jamaica, whether it is in rows, or how?

In holing for planting, which is the most laborious work upon a plantation, it is generally done in rows; indeed always. In these cases none but the healthy and strong Negroes are employed. There are upon every estate two, and upon most three gangs; there is the strong gang, the holing gang, as it is called; there is the

the weaker gang, or the weeding gang; and the children, which is called the grass gang; there are no Negroes in the first but able, healthy, strong Negroes.

With respect to the first of these gangs, whether the weaker Negroes of that gang are not obliged to do as much work in the same time as the stronger Negroes, when they work in rows?

Where there are women who are employed when they are not pregnant, in digging cane-holes; there generally is a considerable proportion of women intermixed with men.

In the most laborious gangs?

Yes; though the women in these cases do not by any means do so much work as the men.

Whether the discussion in this country respecting the Slave Trade has or has not produced better laws and regulations in the islands respecting the Negroes than what existed before?

My information relates to Jamaica entirely. I have to observe, that in the year 1781, long before this question came into consideration, a law was passed by the Assembly at Jamaica, called the Consolidated Law; that law repealed all the statutes of the colony that bore hard upon the Negroes, some of which, particularly the first laws, which were taken literally from the law of Barbadoes, were all repealed; and this law, which is a law fraught with humane provisions for the Negroes, was then passed, and passed for two years as an experiment, for the consideration of the public at large, to see what further provisions might be necessary. In the year 1784 or 1785, I forget which, as I was not upon the island at the time, but I speak from information, and from pretty certain information, the Assembly was dissolved. In the year 1786 the subject was sent abroad through every parish of the island, to get every sort of information that could be got. In the year 1787 the bill was passed; I think it was in the year 1787 that this question came first to be agitated. In the year 1788 further provisions were added to the law of 1787, particularly one which was certainly intended in the law of 1787, that is, to make the murder of a Negroe felony without benefit of clergy. In the year 1788, the very first consideration of the Assembly in that session was to remedy that defect in the law, which was considered to be entirely an omission.

Now, considering the great number of mortgaged estates which you have stated to exist in Jamaica equal to above one-third of the whole, and that the Negroes are now liable to be sold for the payment of their master's debts; and considering the many inconveni-

ences and hardships to Negroes arising from thence; and considering that the morals of the clergy in Jamaica, as you have stated, are in general very bad indeed, and of bad example both to Blacks and Whites in general; and that those immoral clergymen do not instruct their Negroes in religion, and are not even sufficient in number for that purpose if they did their duty: Whether, if a greater number of clergymen and other persons, both Black and White, were employed, men of exemplary morals, and who should make it their particular business to attend to the progress of the understanding, with respect to Negroes, and to inculcate moral duties and religion; and if Negroes were no longer liable to be sold to pay the debts of their owners; whether, where there are now a hundred Negro children born, there would be 110, 120, 130, or what other number, according to your opinion? It is not a subject upon which a precise answer is to be expected; but the best opinion you can give, from the great attention that you stated to the House the other day, that you had paid to Negro population?

I do believe, most sincerely, that if many of the matters contained in this question could be or were effected, that the condition of the Negro, by being rendered so much better, might, and certainly would contribute to population and assist it. With respect to the effects of religious instruction and moral instruction, it is so very long a time to look forward to before the effects could be even perceived, that I think the present generation are not likely to see any very great change with respect to population on that account.

You say, that if many of the things there stated were altered, it would very much increase population?

I say, certainly, it would have the effect of increasing population, by rendering the condition of the Negro so much better.

In what proportion upon 100, whether to 110, 120, or what, according to the best of your opinion?

I cannot answer that part of the question at all; it is not possible for me to do it; and, with permission, I do not think reasonable to expect that I should answer such a question at this bar, without considering it very deliberately.

Whether it would make ten per cent. difference?

I do not know.

The Witness was directed to withdraw; and being called in again, he was examined as follows:

You

You have given in an account, stating the number of Negroes, and first of the Negroes in the island; from what account, or from what register, did you take that number?

I took them generally from the reports of the Assembly in Jamaica, and also from the evidence before the honourable the Council.

What was the nature of that evidence upon which the Assembly went in their report?

You will please to observe, that I have stated that calculation from certain *data*, that is, from the tax-rolls; and that I have stated the imports from the receiver-general's books.

Then the account of the number of Negroes existing at each of these three periods in the island, you state from the tax-rolls?

From the tax-rolls entirely.

The number of Negroes imported you state from the receiver-general's account, from the account of the receiver-general of the customs?

From the account of the receiver-general of the island of Jamaica, who collects the island taxes.

From what do you state the account you have given in of the number of Negroes imported?

From the books of the receiver-general of the island, the treasurer of the island. I beg to explain, and will explain it precisely: Whenever a Negro ship arrives, the master reports the number of Negroes in the ship; and upon that report the receiver-general has a right to insist upon the payment of an import duty of 10s. per head; there is, besides this, another duty upon all Negroes sold, of 20s. per head; at present it is 15s. for females, and 25s. for males; that duty is payable upon a sale, and is in fact paid by the purchaser.

Then there are two duties paid?

Yes; but I take this from the receiver-general's account of the Negroes imported, upon a ship's arrival in the island.

When you say reported, you mean reported to the custom-house officer?

Yes; but I beg leave to observe, that the receiver-general's account is the account of record. None of the other officers consider it of any consequence to ascertain the precise number of Negroes; but as in the receiver-general's office the number reported is the number upon which the import duty is paid, that must be correct.

Whether

Whether you conceive that there could be any possible difference between the account of the receiver-general of the island, and the account taken from the custom-house books, as sent home to this country; whether any casualty or any accident could have happened to occasion a difference between the account of the actual importation of the Negro, as stated in the books of the custom-house officer, and the account taken by the receiver-general of the island; whether you know any reason which could create a difference in these two accounts?

I can assign no other reason than carelessness in the custom-house officer: I conceive that the receiver-general's account must certainly be the most correct.

Whether you had access to both these accounts; the custom-house officer's and the receiver-general's?

I never consulted any other account than the receiver-general's.

Whether the yaws is a disease to which the Negroes are subject only in the West Indies; or whether they are equally subject to it in their own country?

They certainly are subject to it in their own country; because I have known many Negroes imported who had the yaws, and the mark of the yaws at the time of their sale; and their having had the yaws was a circumstance of very great advantage, and enhanced the value of the Negroes who had had it; therefore there cannot be a doubt but that it must exist in Africa as well as in the West Indies.

Are the yaws an epidemic disorder, which people of this description catch, as Europeans do the small-pox?

It certainly is; only that I think it is taken in a different manner; however, this is only my opinion; it is generally communicated by contact; by the touch.

Are Europeans in that country very subject to have the yaws?

I have known some instances of Europeans having the yaws; but I think, from my experience of the country, that Europeans are by no means so susceptible of it as Negroes.

Have any missionaries ever been sent out to the island of Jamaica, by the ecclesiastical government here, with a view of converting the Negroes?

I know of none in my time; nor do I recollect ever having heard of any such at any time.

Whether you have ever known any Negro, after he has been restored to liberty, go back to his native country, or desirous of going back to it?

I never heard an instance of the kind.

Whether the overseer or the managers of estates have any emolument, and what, on the purchase of Slaves?

They have none.

Are there any encouragements, and what, given to a Negro who is inclined to live with one woman, or to one woman who is inclined to live with one man; or any encouragement given to women that bear or rear one or more children?

There are no public encouragements given to the persons to which the first part of the question relates; but it is certain that Negroes who remain attached to one another, and live decently, have every sort of encouragement that the proprietor and a good manager can give them, generally speaking. I knew one gentleman many years ago, of very large fortune, and of great humanity, Mr. Thomas Hall, of the parish of St. James's, in Jamaica; and he himself has told me, that any woman who had reared five children was permitted to do what she pleased, and no sort of work whatever required of her, except to take care of her children; that is the only instance that I recollect of the kind. But I can mention an instance of myself and another gentleman with whom I had the good fortune to be joined as attorney in the management of several estates: in order to encourage the breeding and rearing of children, we made it public upon all the estates which we were concerned for, that every Negro woman who should produce a child a month old, should have two dollars as a reward; and that the same woman, producing the same child after its being weaned, should have two dollars more. I established the same rewards upon every other estate that I had the direction of.

Is it to be understood that these encouragements were only given upon the estate of Mr. Hall, and those you have had the management of?

I cannot answer that question with any certainty; but I have mentioned the circumstance to many gentlemen in the island who were in my own situation, who highly approved of it, and considered that the reward was too little.

Had these rewards any good effect?

I am convinced they had, even in the short experience of three years.

Are

Are there not other encouragements and other regulations which may tend extremely to increase the number of children that are born and reared in the country?

There certainly may be a number of encouragements that may conduce very much to rearing of children in Jamaica; and I am decidedly of opinion, that the legislature of Jamaica will pass some law to oblige encouragement of that kind to be given, or that they may be given at the public expence.

Enumerate those encouragements which you think would be of use in promoting the breeding and rearing of children?

I cannot answer that question at this moment definitely, certainly; but it occurs to me that such encouragements as I myself gave, if enlarged, would have a very good effect; and if such encouragements as Mr. Hall gave to his Negro women, that is, that after rearing five children they should then be required to do no more work than the taking care of their children, if that were a public regulation, it would certainly be highly beneficial.

Do the women suckle their own children?

Almost always, as far as I have observed.

Are they obliged to labour during that time, and what kind of labour are they confined to?

I stated that in my evidence yesterday.

Whether Negroes are frequently the object of dower?

They are always the object of dower in all dowable cases, except that they are subject to the payment of personal debts, and debts upon judgment, which take place prior.

Whether trust-money is ever expressly, by the term of the trust, directed to be laid out in the purchase of Slaves by way of security?

I have known very frequent instances of that kind.

Whether that disorder which you stated to be so fatal to children, "the locked-jaw," in their earliest infancy, is not supposed to be increased by the improper manner in which the women carry their children?

As the locked-jaw generally happens within fourteen days after the birth, I apprehend that the manner of the women's carrying their children does not in any way cause it.

Whether in the case of a White man charged with the murder of a Negro in Jamaica, the same circumstantial evidence which would

would be sufficient to prove the murder of a White person, would be admitted by a jury in proof of the murder of a Negro?

My opinion is decidedly that it would.

Whether information given by a Negro to a magistrate in Jamaica would not be deemed sufficient ground for investigating the circumstances of an alleged murder committed by a White person on the body of a Negro?

It most undoubtedly would.

You having stated, that the Negroes frequently ran away on some estates; whether these Negroes be the imported adult Negroes, or whether they be the natives?

In cases where they run away for crimes committed deserving punishment, I believe the cases are pretty equal with respect to Creoles and imported Negroes; but there are a number of Negroes newly imported, and very ignorant, who lose themselves, wander away, and go into other plantations in the hopes of meeting some of their countrymen with whom they can converse.

Having attributed the frequency of their running away to a refractoriness of disposition, have you observed the same refractoriness to have obtained equally among the Creoles as among the imported Negroes?

The Creole Negroes being certainly in a situation to obtain more knowledge, and to know the consequences of running away, are generally less refractory than imported Negroes, who come most frequently in a very ignorant state; consequently, I conceive that there are a greater number of imported Negroes who are refractory than of the Creoles.

In the account that you have delivered in, you state a certain number of Negroes yearly as imported and retained, that implies a certain number exported; from what document do you derive your account of the number of Negroes exported annually?

By the free-port laws establishing a certain number of free ports in Jamaica, a duty is laid, to be paid on the export, a small duty merely to ascertain the number exported, and that account is generally kept in the custom-house: that duty, I think, I am not quite certain as to the fact, but I think that that duty is received by the collector of the customs, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27.

Then it is to be understood, that you take your account of the number of Negroes exported annually from the account kept by the custom-house officers at these free ports?

I

I took

I took the numbers from the reports of the committees of the Assembly, to whom all these numbers were sent regularly, from the regular offices at the different free ports.

Supposing no expence nor attention were spared, and that the object of the planter were principally or solely to rear Slaves, might not many more be reared than are at present, where cultivation was the principal object?

I believe I have answered that question before; I think that a greater number of children might be born.

In what proportion do you suppose?

I cannot answer that question at present, because there are a variety of circumstances to be taken into consideration, to enable me to answer it properly.

Would it make a considerable difference, or a trifling one?

I think it would make a considerable difference in time.

What do you think would be the difference between the person who was rearing purposely for the sake of Slaves, or the person whose object was cultivation as well as rearing Slaves?

I never knew any one instance of any planter, or of any other description of men, keeping Negro women merely for the purpose of breeding out of them.

The question was put, Whether, if a person's object was to rear Slaves, he could not succeed in rearing more than a person whose object was cultivation as well as rearing Slaves? You answered, Yes. It was then asked, What were the reasons that would make that difference, in your apprehension? why would the person whose object was solely to rear Slaves, succeed better than the other person who was both cultivating and rearing?

I have stated, that I never knew an instance of the rearing of children being the sole object.

Whether such an object would not necessarily be attended with a deprivation or diminution of labour?

If Negroes were not to labour at all, or to labour entirely for themselves, perhaps more children might be born and reared, and perhaps not; but that is a question that I really cannot answer.

Do you mean to state, that you think the labour that is required of the Slaves prevents their breeding, and prevents that proper attention which is necessary to the rearing of their children?

In every case where Negroes are overworked, or have been overworked, and some cases of that nature sometimes occur, although not often, I think if overworked, that would undoubtedly, in my opinion, operate against the breeding and rearing of children. I beg leave to add, that one of the first objects of every planter, that I have ever known, has been that of breeding and rearing children.

In what stations are the most steady and confidential Negroes on an estate usually employed?

They are employed as drivers, as head cattlemen, as head mulemen, as tradesmen of every kind, as head watchmen, as head boilers; and, in short, in a variety of offices, which give them some consideration, and no small consideration upon a well-regulated estate; and they have a double allowance of clothing, of rum, of sugar, and of herrings. Salt-fish is given to every Negro in that situation.

Is that considered as more advantageous to their health than the manner in which the others are treated?

Negroes so employed are in general subject to the same disorders as the other Negroes upon estates; in general they are worked as much as the other Negroes, except the drivers, whose business it is to be in the situation of officers, and who do very little work with their own hands.

Whether the double allowance of food, and of additional clothing, conduces more to their health?

I do not think that it does, so as to be considered a matter of consequence; it contributes to their enjoyment, to their pleasures and satisfaction.

Whether there are a number of free Negroes in the island of Jamaica?

There are a number of free Negroes, as well as of free Mulattoes, and People of Colour in Jamaica; there are also free Negroes that are called the Maroons.

Whether those free Negroes increase their number by births?

As far as I have ever been able to observe, I think they do not.

The Maroons, I understand, are runaway Negroes that lived in the mountains?

They are Negroes that were in a state of rebellion, and were exceedingly injurious and hurtful to the country, and many wars were carried on against them; and in the year 1739, the then Governor (Trelawny) entered into a treaty with them, by which they were all made free, under certain limitations; and they had towns

towns and grounds in the interior part of the country allotted for their residence and support; and in every town there were by law two White persons as officers established by the governor.

Whether these Maroons have increased their number by births?

From the time of the treaty to the last account that I saw of their numbers, previous to my leaving Jamaica, they have decreased in a most extraordinary degree.

Can you state what their number was at the time of the treaty in 1739; and what their number was when you left Jamaica?

My recollection does not assist me enough to mention the precise numbers; and therefore what I may say may be very incorrect; but I think, that the number at the time of the treaty was little short of between two and three thousand. I speak this with very great doubt; but the number at the time that I left Jamaica, I conceive, did not exceed four hundred in all; I think so; but I may be exceedingly wrong in this statement; but I can very soon inform myself by the records.

They and their posterity were made free by the treaty?

They and the posterity of the females.

Whether you can account for that extraordinary decrease?

I have heard it accounted for; and I will mention the manner that I account for it. I understand there are eight or nine hundred remaining. In the first place, they are in general very dissolute; they are exceedingly fond of rum; they are given most exceedingly to wander, and instead of taking wives of their own people, of the free people, they generally have intercourse with the women of the neighbouring plantations, so that the children born from that intercourse are Slaves: on the other hand, the women, while they are young, generally wander, and are the wives, or rather have a promiscuous intercourse with the Negro Slaves, and with others of different plantations, and contract diseases accordingly, which are all inimical to population.

Is not the proportion of women very small among them?

I do not know the proportion; I never heard it mentioned.

What are their means of life; do they live upon their property, or do they live by their labour?

Their principal means of livelihood is the pay given to them as parties to be sent after runaways, and certain rewards given to them for bringing in runaways; they have grounds which they work, and on which they rear provisions for their own subsistence; they

have hogs which they prepare in a particular manner, and which are considered to be a very good thing, which they bring down to market and sell: they catch crabs, and shoot ring-tail pigeons and other game that is found in the interior parts of the country; and I believe that those are the principal means of their subsistence, for I never myself knew any instance where they laboured upon plantations; and I believe if they ever have done it, that the instances are very few indeed.

Have they cultivated the lands that were allotted to them by treaty?

They have planted some parts of them with provisions for their own support; but I speak with very great diffidence as to this question, for I never was in one of those Negro towns in my life.

Have they divided the lands, allotted to them by treaty, between them, or do they now hold them in common?

I really cannot answer the question with certainty, never having been in any of their towns; but I believe that the lands allotted to them are divided among individuals, much in the same manner as the lands upon plantations allotted to the Negroes, and that each works his own little portion for his own separate use; but, however, I do not know precisely that this is the case.

Whether they do not receive additional numbers from the runaway Negroes, or do they always restore them when they come amongst them?

They cannot receive any additional number from runaways, because they are under the immediate inspection of their officers, the White persons appointed to reside in their towns; and by the treaty, one of the conditions prevented them from the purchase of any Negroes, or, in short, from making any addition to their numbers except by births.

Having stated that there are a vast number of free People of Colour and Negroes in the island of Jamaica, speak whether you have observed, that this particular description of men or women is inclined to labour or not?

I think, in general, that they are not inclined to any thing like hard labour; they are in general tradesmen, or people employed by them in rather light work; they seldom hire themselves for the purpose of labouring in the fields as field Negroes; I do not know an instance of it.

Having stated that the Sunday throughout the year is allowed to the Slave;

Slave; whether during crop-time, there have not been instances of a Slave hiring himself out for that day to particular labours?

I have known the Slaves in crop-time, and at other times, hire their Sunday labour very frequently, particularly near towns, or near shipping at wharfs, and upon various other occasions; but in general the proprietor, or the proprietor's representatives or the managers, endeavour as much as possible to prevent this, and keep them employed in cultivating their own grounds.

Whether the women Slaves that belong to estates adjoining to the principal harbour in the island, have not permission to go on the Saturday evening, with the various produce from their own grounds, on board of the King's ships and the merchantmen, and are not required to be present upon the estates till the proper hour of work on the Monday following?

They certainly are upon many occasions.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Then SIMON TAYLOR, Esquire, was called in; and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Are you a native of Jamaica?

I am.

Do you possess any real estate in that island?

I certainly do.

By inheritance as well as by purchase?

By inheritance as well as by purchase.

How long have you resided in that island?

I sailed from England in the year 1760, and I arrived in Jamaica in the month of October of that same year. I sailed from thence the 17th of May, 1791.

Was you, during that period of time, much engaged in plantation concerns?

During the whole.

Had you any number of Negroes, and what, under your immediate direction and management?

I had a very great number indeed of Negroes under my care; a great many belonging to myself, as well as to other people.

How many?

H h

When

When I came from Jamaica I had upwards of four thousand.

Of your own and of other people's?

Yes.

What proportion of them were your own?

Of my own upwards of 1,200; and of my nephew's 400.

Do you know the general treatment of the Negroes in that island?
I certainly do.

Are they in general treated with humanity?

They are in general treated with humanity.

Is the situation of the Negroes tolerably comfortable in respect to diet, clothing, lodging, and other indulgences?

The situation of every good Negro is very comfortable; they are regularly clothed every year; they have houses, they have grounds, and they have property.

Is the situation of the Negro in general as comfortable as the situation of the labouring poor in this kingdom?

From what I have seen of them, the situation of the good Negroes in general upon estates is better.

What is the situation of the bad Negro?

Certainly not so comfortable as that of the good.

What do you mean by good and bad Negroes?

A Negro that will take care of his grounds, his house, his pigs, and his property, is a good Negro.

Do you mean by a bad Negro, a person negligent in all those particulars?

I do.

Have Negroes lands allotted them for their provisions?

Upon every estate that I have had any connection with, they have.

Do you mean for the individual provision of each particular Negro?

For the provision of each particular Negro and his family.

Are there other lands, besides the lands set apart for each Negro individually, which are kept in cultivation for the general maintenance of the Negroes upon the estate?

There are.

Can you specify the proportion of land to any given number of Negroes, four for instance?

By

By law, I think, that it is an acre for every four Negroes ; in general I have made it a rule to have a great deal more.

Are Negroes permitted to acquire property in the island of Jamaica, and of what sort?

They are. Negroes are allowed very often to have a cow, and a follower. Before the law, which has prevented Negroes from keeping horses and mares, they had mares, and raised colts and mules ; I have bought mules from my Negroes ; they have also hogs, and all sorts of poultry to raise ; they may also raise any quantity of provisions they have a mind to raise ; and they have a right to sell it and dispose of it as they please.

Do they in fact raise poultry and other provisions for sale to any considerable amount?

They certainly do ; I have often bought a couple of dozen of capons in one day from my Negroes.

Are they permitted to go to the public markets with the produce of their provision lands?

They certainly are upon Sundays and holidays.

Are they allowed to have any sort of property in their provision lands, which they can transmit to their children or others?

By invariable custom they have ; and I have bought grounds from some of the Negroes that have acquired them of their families, in order to settle other Negroes upon them.

Can you form any estimate of the quantity of provisions brought on a market-day, which is on a Sunday, to Kingston market, by Negroes, as the produce of their provision grounds?

I am confident, that upon a Saturday afternoon and upon a Sunday, I have seen Negroes to the amount of 10,000 going down with provisions to Kingston market : reckoning these Negroes to carry only at the rate of five shillings each, it amounts to 2,500*l*.

Have you at any time accommodated any of the Negroes, in the means of transporting the produce of their estates to Kingston market?

I have ; when a parcel of Negroes at a particular estate called Hector's River, had a large parcel of yams that they could not sell, I sent them a shallop in order to carry it round, and made them a present of the freight.

Are the number of births of the Negroes in the island equal to the number of deaths?

I do

I do not think they are.

To what cause do you attribute the excess of the number of deaths over the number of births?

There are several causes; there is certainly a disparity in the number of males to the females, in the original importation, and in the island. Their promiscuous intercourse with one another; their nocturnal rambles. There are a vast number of Negroes die of what they call the locked-jaw; I never knew a child that was taken with it recover; with us it attacks them within the nine days. There are worms which destroy a great number of Negro children; but I conceive the thing which destroys more Negroes than any thing else, is venereals.

Is that disorder very malignant among Black people?

It is.

Is proper medical assistance given to persons labouring under this and other disorders?

The Negroes seldom, that ever I knew, came into the outhouse or hospital for venereals, until they were in a very bad state, and that is what makes it so malignant. There was a doctor who attended every plantation upon the estates that I was concerned for, in the parish of St. Thomas's in the East; there were five estates where the doctor constantly resided, and I think they paid every attention that they could to the Negroes.

Were these doctors paid by the year for the general care of the plantation, or were they paid for each particular occasion and attendance?

They were paid by the year at so much a head, and I always imported medicines from this country.

Have you been present at the purchase of Slaves upon their arrival?

I have purchased many a hundred.

In what manner is the traffic carried on in the island?

When a Guineaman arrives, the person to whom she is consigned, advertises the sale of the Slaves upon such a day; he writes to his friends in the country for them to come down; those that have an inclination to purchase, and ability to pay, do; and after they have made an agreement, they purchase so many. The prime Slaves are commonly sold the first day: about a week after, they sell by small parcels the remainder, which are generally disposed of to foreigners. The troubles had not broke out in St. Domingo before I failed, and consequently the foreigners were Spanish and French.

In what manner are the new Negroes usually treated on their first arrival?

I have seen them always treated very kindly and very well. The first night they are commonly sent either into the kitchen or into the hospital, which are dry warm places. We look out for the best Negroes and the most trusty people; we give one Negro to each of them, in order for him to stay in his house, and to be taken care of; we constantly feed those Negroes with provisions delivered out of the stores; we have a person that understands their language, to dress their victuals, and to see that they are kept clean; we put them to the easiest work we possibly can for some time; the old Negroes take these new people into their grounds with them on Sundays and holidays, and shew them the way of working the grounds; the overseer commonly sends these people in a gang once or twice in the week to some ruinate grounds, which is land that has been in provisions before, and which has run into bushes, in order to clear it, and to make grounds and provision places for those new Negroes. When the land is prepared, we generally hole it for corn; when that is come up, we run it through either with cocoa or yams, and a plantain walk, and divide it among those Negroes when it is in full bearing. When these Negroes have been some little time in the country, to grow a little sensible, and wish for houses—we draw out the timber for them—we carry it to the place where they wish to have a house—we give them time to build a house—we assist them with carpenters and other Negroes to get them finished, and then give it to them, commonly one house to two Negroes. I have built houses for new Negroes, that they should come into them as soon as they came upon the estate; but every one of these houses they let go to ruin, as they would not live in them, calling them parish houses.

Do they build houses for themselves?

They build houses for themselves in the way I was mentioning, with our assistance.

In what manner are the females, upon their arrival, taken care of?

There are always men who are very glad to take them and to keep them as their wives.

They are left to their own choice in that particular, without the interference of the overseer?

We never interfere with them; if a man likes a girl and takes her, and promises to take care of her, very well; if she do not chuse to live with that man, we give her to another that she does like.

Can the estates in Jamaica that are now settled, be kept up to their standard in point of Negroes without fresh importation?

None that ever I have been concerned with can, or has hitherto done it.

Is it possible to cultivate those estates by the labour of the White people?

I think it is absolutely impossible.

Have you known the plough used in Jamaica; and with what success?

The plough has been used on and off ever since I went to Jamaica. I have seen it used upon estates, where at first they were exceedingly fond of it, from its throwing up a very luxuriant plant cane; but I always observed, that the ratoon was not so luxuriant as it would have been had the land not been ploughed. I have seen upon those very estates, on two or three ploughings, the land so worn out, that it would not produce a cane. I have tried a plough myself; I did it at Golden Grove estate, which is a flat rich bottomed estate; I was obliged to drop the use of it; whether it was from the unskilfulness of the ploughmen, or what it was owing to, I do not know; but our cattle fell off so excessively, that I was obliged to desist. I tried a plough also upon an estate in Ligoneer, and planted a good many canes; the dry weather came on the first year, and I lost all that I had planted; but they would have been lost whether it had been ploughed or not. The year after in the season (which was the year before I left Jamaica) I ran in a good deal of land with the plough, and planted it: from what I had seen before, the land being so exhausted by the plough, I made them send up to Kingston, and pick up all the manure that they could find there, which I put over the land, and then ploughed it in; the canes were not cut before my leaving Jamaica, and consequently I do not say how they turned out; but I conceive that the plough can only partially be used in Jamaica. In a great number of estates the land is too rocky to admit any plough; in others, the land is too much broken and steep for a plough to go; where I have seen any land ploughed, shelving land, the heavy seasons that we have had, have commonly washed away all the black mould, and left nothing but the clay remaining; or gravel.

Are you aware of any other instrument of agriculture which could be adopted with effect in case of personal labour in that island?

I know no other instrument of agriculture, except the hoe, which we use now.

Has that been in use long?

From the first settlement of the island, I apprehend.

Is there any other species of engine or mechanical invention of which you are aware, that could diminish the necessity for the same quantity of Negro labour?

I do not know of any.

What do you conceive would be the consequence of the Abolition of this Trade upon the proprietors of plantations, annuitants, mortgagees, and other persons interested in it?

Ruin, in the end.

What do you apprehend would be the effect of such Abolition upon the Negroes at present in the island of Jamaica?

It is really almost impossible to tell what would be the consequence; it would certainly, upon all the weak-handed estates, disquiet their minds amazingly; they certainly would think that they would have the same labour to undergo, without any prospect of new Negroes coming to help them; they might from that take to dirt eating, and to destroying themselves.

What do you mean by dirt eating?

Whenever Negroes despond, I have known them take to dirt eating, and die of it: it is what the French call *mal d'estomac*.

Whether the Negroes upon a plantation are more cheerful when fresh Negroes are introduced among them?

They surely are.

During the period of time in which you have been acquainted with the concerns of plantations, have you observed any regulations in the manner of treating the Negroes, more for the benefit and happiness of the Negroes themselves than those which had subsisted before?

I certainly have observed a very material difference.

In what respect?

They are better clothed than they were; the people that are put over them are much more decent than they formerly used to be. People that formerly used to live upon estates were chiefly indented servants. The people that we have now are chiefly young people, who have had a decent education, and hope to do something for themselves. These people treat Negroes better than they formerly were treated; and therefore I think the Negroes a great deal better off.

What

What effect do you conceive the Abolition of this Trade would have upon the White inhabitants of the island, who are immediately employed in carrying on the plantations?

Sending them off the island. These people come there with an intent to better their circumstances; what little money they can save out of their salaries, or whatever little credit they can procure, they invest in Negroes; sometimes they make tradesmen of these Negroes; at other times they join them with a jobbing gang, and get so much a head for them. When they come to be overseers and have a little money before hand, they endeavour to get settlements; upon these settlements they either plant provision, coffee, or sometimes cotton; if they were not able to have Negroes they certainly could not cultivate these settlements, and consequently would go to some country where they could be better off.

What effect do you apprehend the Abolition of this Trade would have on the internal security of the island?

A very great one; for the security in the inland parishes consists chiefly of these White people.

Can you state the gross value of the property in Negroes and plantations; in short, of the real and personal property in the island of Jamaica—the gross amount?

I cannot say that I can do it very particularly; but to the best of my recollection, the value of the property was estimated, 240,000 Negroes at 50 l. sterling each; the lands and works at double that value: the houses in the towns, shipping and goods, and one thing or other, making in the whole very near forty millions.

Have you yourself laid out any considerable sums of money in plantations and Negroes in confidence of the continuance of those laws which authorise the importation of Negroes?

I have.

To any considerable amount?

To upwards of 200,000 l. sterling.

Do you conceive that any law prohibiting the importation of Negroes could be conveniently carried into effect?

People would try to elude it.

Do you conceive they could elude it with effect, considering the situation of the country?

Jamaica is 160 miles long; I know the whole coast of it exceedingly

exceedingly well; and I do not know five miles of coast but where a boat can land.

Could Negroes be brought over from foreign islands in boats?

Negroes certainly could be brought over from foreign islands in boats, making the east-end about dusk; they might run in with the land, and land Negroes, or land any thing else, and be off by day-break.

You have stated that you have expended more than 200,000 l. in the purchase of Negroes, in confidence of the continuance of those acts of parliament which authorise the importation of them; would you have expended any part of that money if you could have foreseen the probability of a prohibition of that trade?

Indeed I would not.

Has the settlement of pens or cattle farms been considerably increased within the last twenty years?

Very considerably so; in one district that I know of, and which I rode through in the year 1762, for twenty-seven miles there was only one hut; since that time I have seen it all in very fine grass farms.

Has the increase of these settlements contributed much to the comfort of the Negroes as well as to that of the White inhabitants of the island?

It has certainly contributed very much to the comfort of the inhabitants of the island, and also to the Negroes. When I went to Jamaica, in the parish of St. Thomas's in the East, whenever a beef was killed it was sent round to all the inhabitants, to know whether they could take part of it. Since this time there have been twelve or thirteen steers killed weekly there; the sick Negroes have broth made of it when they can get it. These pens supplied his majesty's fleet after the 12th of April in the year 1782 with upwards of fifty head of cattle a day, for the consumption of the fleet.

What effect would the Abolition of the Slave Trade have on those settlements?

I conceive that it would ruin them as well as the sugar estates: if there were no sugar estates, there would be no occasion for cattle; and consequently there would not be that consumption. These people might sell their Negroes to the sugar-work people, and consequently they would be thrown up.

Do you know what attention is paid to the Negro women during their pregnancy?

K k

I have

I have always seen attention paid to them.

Are any indulgences given them in point of remission from their labour?

Whenever we find that they are pregnant, we commonly put them into what we call the small gang; there they work almost as they please; when they are further advanced, we cannot get them to do any thing, not even to walk about.

Did you ever know of any corporal punishment inflicted upon women in this situation?

I never did.

Do you know what number of Maroon Negroes there are at present in the island?

The last return of them that I saw was between eight and nine hundred: upon the martial law in the year 1782, they were all called from the towns, supposing that they would be useful about the banks of the river called Hope River, in case the French landed. The number, if I conceive right, that came up, was not above 200 from all the five towns.

Have you any means of knowing what number they consisted of at the time of the treaty which was made with them in the year 1739?

I cannot say that I have any knowledge as to how many there were: I have understood that they consisted of about 3,000 or 2,500.

Do you know whether the sugar plantations could, in case the cultivation of sugar was discontinued, be converted to any other purpose to the benefit of the owner?

They certainly might be to some profit, but nothing near to what they produce as sugar estates.

Could they be converted to any other purpose nearly as profitable, so as adequately to compensate the risk and trouble of the cultivation?

I think not; I never saw any thing grow kindly after canes had been once planted.

Could the mills or buildings now upon the sugar estates be conveniently converted to any other purpose?

I know of none.

Suppose the Negroes of particular estates to be destroyed by hurricanes, do you know of any means by which the individual proprietor

prietor could supply himself with fresh Negroes in case this trade were abolished?

By no other means than by buying Negroes from the small settlements, and which would be throwing them up: taking away the Negroes would throw them out of cultivation.

Have the estates in the island of Jamaica ever been so fully handed as to render jobbing Negroes unnecessary?

I do not know what other estates have been; mine have not; although I had upon one of these estates, consisting of 486 acres of canes, 420 Negroes; and I always jobbed in the spring plant with hired labour.

Can you form a judgment of the number of Negroes necessary, in addition to those already in the island, to bring the lands yet uncultivated, and which are capable of cultivation, into that state?

The number of Negroes would be immense: the quantity of land that is supposed to be in Jamaica I have heard reckoned at near four millions of acres: I have understood the patented lands amount to nearly two millions of acres. From what I can conceive from my own knowledge of Jamaica, having been in most parts of it, I do not suppose that there is above 800,000 acres of it open. I know tracts where an immense quantity of sugar more might be made, I suppose from 50,000 to 70,000 or 80,000 hogsheads of sugar more than what is now made. Immense quantities of land also may be thrown into coffee; and I am very confident a great deal more may be thrown into cotton.

If no new lands are hereafter thrown into cultivation, will the lands at present in cultivation require a greater number of hands to cultivate them?

They certainly must; new land is much easier holed than old land; the older land is, the stiffer it grows, and consequently it requires more Negroes.

Examined by the Lords.

You have stated that you think it will be very difficult to prohibit the illicit importation of Negroes in case the trade should be abolished: whether if the ports of St. Domingo, the Havannah, and the Dutch port of Curasore, should be declared free ports, that circumstance would not increase the difficulty of stopping the illicit trade?

Surely,

Surely, if we had so many ports open from which we could get Negroes, it would be easier to get them.

What is the greatest, and what is the least number in which the deaths have exceeded the births, upon any of the estates that have fallen within your knowledge?

It is impossible for me to say; one year upon that estate, which has 426 Negroes, I lost only five Negroes; and in one year I lost forty upon it.

Having been a great deal at sea, whether you do not think it would require a very large naval force from this country to prevent the importation of Negroes in the island of Jamaica, supposing any act of restraint for that purpose were to take place?

I should think it would be very easy for me to bring in any number I pleased.

Notwithstanding any force to prevent it?

Notwithstanding any force.

Whether there are any emoluments, that the overseer or managers of the estates of absentees have on the purchase of Slaves?

None that ever I knew; neither upon the estates of absentees or of presentees, except the man has been an attorney at the same time in drawing commissions.

Whether the increased price of Slaves, which has taken place of late years, has induced the planters to pay more attention than they did before to the rearing of Slaves?

I paid always the utmost attention that I possibly could to my Slaves; I looked upon them as the life and blood of my estate; what other people have done I cannot say, but I do think it has.

Whether if that price were still more increased, the inducements to rear would not be still greater?

Provided the price of sugar were increased also, so as to enable them to pay for them.

You have stated that you very humanely have allotted a much larger quantity of ground for your Slaves than you was obliged to do by the law, whether that is general through the island?

Upon almost all estates that I know, there is more than double the quantity of Negro-grounds for the Negroes to make use of, than the law stipulates.

What was the reason why you allotted so large a quantity more than the law requires?

In general we have a great deal more land belonging to estates than what we can put into canes; and therefore we never stint the Negroes in that case in quantity of land.

Do you think that if the quantity stipulated by law were to be increased, it would enable the Slaves to rear more children?

I think we endeavour to rear as many children as we possibly can now.

Question repeated.

I do not see how it would.

Does the locked-jaw, which the children are subject to, proceed often from want of care, from damp, and from want of clothing?

I really cannot tell what it proceeds from; I have tried every means upon earth in order to save these children—I built a lying-in hospital on purpose for them; I put in every single article that the doctor required—I had midwives for them—I had people to attend them—I had baby linen for the children—I gave the doctor positive injunctions to see them every morning and every evening, which I am sure he did. At first we were very successful with them: the neighbouring plantations used to send to that place: we saved very near forty running: it took a turn, and we lost almost as many with the same doctor, the same midwives, and the same attention, in every respect.

Whether by this hospital, this increase of attention, and this increase of expence, you think on the whole that you succeeded in saving more than you did before?

I conceive I did.

Do you think if these hospitals were general through the island, they would be the means of saving more throughout the island, as it was in your particular practice?

Upon some estates they save more children in the Negro houses than when they carry them up to the great house to have them taken care of. It was with a very great deal of difficulty that I got the Negroes first to consent to go there. After they found that they began by this means to save their children, they went of their own accord.

Whether you think that a great many children were lost from a want of care, from damp, and from a want of clothing—generally among the less opulent people, and among those who had their estates managed by other people, and not by themselves?

I apprehend that all possible care that can be taken of Negroes, is taken of them all over the island.

L I

How

How soon do the women who suckle their children return to labour after the birth of a child?

They never come out in less than four weeks, sometimes five.

Do they return to field labour so soon as that?

They are put into the small gang for light labour.

How many years labour is usually supposed to make a profitable return to the planter for the purchase money of a Slave, supposing it to be fifty pounds?

I never made any calculation of the sort: I had alive, when I left Jamaica, the first Negro my father ever purchased, which was in the year 1728.

Was you ever in the island of St. Domingo?

Yes.

Frequently?

Never but once.

How long was you there?

I was a very short time there; I went up with an intent to enter into a contract for Negroes.

Whether you have seen the resolutions now under consideration of Parliament for the Gradual Abolition of the Slave Trade?

I have read them.

What do you think will be the immediate effect upon the island of Jamaica, and upon the property there, in case these resolutions should be agreed to?

I think the Abolition of the Slave Trade within any period that I can reasonably suppose, will be ruin to the island.

Would the agreeing to these resolutions tend to increase or decrease the import of the raw material from Jamaica into this country?

Certainly it must decrease the import of the raw material.

Would it tend to the increase or decrease of the export or manufacture of this country to Jamaica?

I think it would materially affect the quantity of manufactures exported from this country to Jamaica; it would lessen them very considerably.

Would it tend to increase or decrease the number of seamen employed in the trade from that country to this, and from this country to that?

I conceive

I conceive it must very materially decrease the number; the fewer ships are employed, the fewer men will be requisite.

Can you conceive the immediate effect which the resolutions, if agreed to, may have upon the whole property; what proportion to the value of the property in Jamaica?

I cannot say in what proportion it might decrease the property; but very materially.

You have stated, that by the practice of having an hospital you saved more than you did before; whether you know in what proportion you might save, compared to the former practice?

I really cannot tell with any certainty.

Whether you continue that practice?

It was continued when I sailed from Jamaica, and I apprehend it is continued still.

Have any persons followed your example?

I really do not know; I built the hospital for the use of Mr. Archdeacon's estate and my own.

How long ago?

I believe about two years ago, or thirty months, to the best of my recollection; I have been away from Jamaica now a year.

About what quantity of land is there now uncultivated in the island of Jamaica which is susceptible of cultivation?

An immense quantity of some sort or another.

What proportion of that land uncultivated is equally proper for cultivation of cotton or coffee, as for the cultivation of sugar?

Coffee thrives best in the inland part of the country where there are very seasonable rains; and being more valuable, it can pay its carriage to market infinitely better than sugar.

With respect to cotton?

Cotton likes a dry soil near the sea-side, and thrives best there; in the inland parts of the island the heavy rains beat off the pods, and they do not bear there.

Can you say that any considerable quantity of the uncultivated land is unfit for the cultivation of cotton and coffee, and only fit for the cultivation of sugar?

The lands that are fittest for the cultivation of sugar differ from the lands that are fit for the cultivation of cotton or coffee; coffee will not thrive upon any clay land; cotton will not thrive upon clay land; sugar cane will thrive very well upon it.

Can

Can you say what proportion the land that is uncultivated at present, which is proper for the cultivation of sugar, bears to the other kind of land more proper for cotton and coffee?

I think a great deal of the uncultivated land is more proper for coffee than for sugar.

And for cotton?

For cotton there is an immense tract of country; but it is a very precarious commodity; the caterpillars will destroy a whole crop in one night.

What rate of profit may be expected to be obtained by the cultivation of cotton or coffee from the land proper for them?

I never planted either coffee or cotton upon my own account.

So you cannot speak to that?

Surely, I cannot.

With respect to the quantity of land allotted for provision land for the Negroes, I think it has been stated, that there is a law that requires an acre of land for every four Negroes, whether you think that that quantity so stipulated by law is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the Negro?

To say a quarter of an acre of land for a Negro, I do not know whether it would be sufficient; but for a family, where there are several together, I should think it was nearly, if not fully sufficient, if the land were good; it depends greatly upon the goodness of the land.

You think that less than that would not be sufficient?

I really cannot tell; our estates in Jamaica have in general a great deal of land; some of our estates contain 2,000, 1,500, 1,700, 1,800, 1,900 acres of land; the Negroes run over just what they please; upon some of my estate the Negroes run over 500 acres.

Do you think less than a quarter of an acre would be sufficient for the comfort and well-being of the Negro?

I do not think less than a quarter of an acre would be sufficient.

You say, you have known several desponding Negroes take to dirt eating?

I have.

Was that for the purpose of destroying themselves?

I have mentioned it.

Do you mean that they took it as a means of destroying themselves, or as a remedy against despondency?

I said they took it as a means of destroying themselves.

Did you say there were but one million of acres in cultivation out of the four millions of which the island consists?

About 800,000 acres.

How many hogsheds of sugar are made out of the proportion that is allotted for sugar estates?

About 80,000, one year with another.

You said, you could not state the effect that the abolition would have upon the property in Jamaica in general; what do you suppose would be the effect upon your own property, and that for which you are concerned?

I conceive that it would have a very bad effect upon my own property, and that I am concerned for—it would lessen the value immensely.

How much do you suppose you should lose upon the capital of 200,000 l. which you have laid out?

Were the abolition to take place, I would get rid of my property at any rate whatever, if I could.

Why do the Negroes take to dirt-eating; is it in order to make away with themselves?

It is impossible for me to account for it. I have known them take to dirt-eating at times when they have been as well fed as it was possible for Negroes to be.

Do you know, whether this habit of dirt-eating is more habitual to the fresh imported Negro, than to the Creole Negro?

Almost all the Negroes in Jamaica, especially the women that are with child, eat dirt more or less; it does not hurt them at that time; they do it with an intent, I apprehend, to abate sourness in their stomachs.

You do not conceive that they take it likewise in order to make away with themselves?

Not the women.

But the men?

Some of the particular countries of the men.

Whether you conceive that the fresh-imported Negro is subject to any particular complaint, by his being brought to the West India climate, more than he is subject to in his own country?

I know of none.

With respect to the diseases that have been particularly mentioned,
M m such

such as the yaws, the elephantiasis, the worms, and various others, is the Creole Negro as much subject to them as the fresh-imported Negro?

I have known Creole Negroes as well as Guinea Negroes have the yaws, the elephantiasis, the cocobays, and every other disorder; almost every Negro Picaninny, or child, has them when young.

More violently or less violently?

I have seen them covered with it.

Do not the overseers and drivers sometimes attend the Slaves with their whips?

When the driver goes into the field, he always carries a whip with him. I never saw an overseer carry a whip in my life.

Whether the driver is allowed to punish the Slave without the White overseer's previous permission?

By the law, no person can punish a Slave above ten licks at any time, except the overseer or the owner is present, and then he cannot give above thirty-nine.

The extent of the law being thirty-nine lashes, did you ever know a Negro confined on that account, and rendered incapable of going to his labour the next day?

I never did in my life.

Whether you have not in general seen the Slaves, both men and women, when at labour, excessively cheerful, and express it by singing?

A thousand times.

You have spoken of there being sometimes a decrease from five to forty-five upon a single estate; can you speak of a similar comparative decrease upon any other estate than that you have spoken of?

After the hurricane in 1784, we had a sort of epidemical flux that went through all our estates, and we lost a vast number of Negroes. I had several Negroes killed in the hurricane; I had every house I had upon the estate blown down, except two Negro houses; I had not an office nor a shed left upon the plantation; my own house was unroofed, all but one small room, where I slept myself, and below that my overseer. I had never an house to put my Negroes in until I built huts; every store that I had upon the estate was destroyed; my Negroes were out, exposed all in the rain; by that means many of them got sick, and before I could raise and get houses for them, most of them had a fit of sickness; I had a fit of sickness myself.

How many Negroes did you lose by the hurricane?

I lost

I lost upon one estate upwards of forty, and upon the other thirty odd; I could not get provisions from Kingston; all the vessels in that part of the country were either drove on shore or lost; I was obliged to send down mules to bring up bread and flour.

Whether you do not recollect that the barracks for his Majesty's troops at Spanish Town, at Fort Augusta, and Stony Hill, were blown down in the hurricane of 1784, and many of the troops killed by the falling of the bricks, and that a very great mortality ensued in consequence among the troops?

I remember hearing of the barracks at all the different places being blown down. We had hurricanes in the year 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, 1786; we had a small one in 1790, and I remember hearing of the barracks being blown down at Stony Hill, and that a number of soldiers were wounded and killed, but in which of the hurricanes I cannot particularly say.

What would have been the condition of the island, if, during those years of calamity which you have enumerated, the importation of Slaves had been prohibited?

My estates must have sunk altogether, or I must have thrown an immense quantity of land out of cane; as it was, I do suppose that I suffered a loss of not less than 50,000*l.* by that gale of wind, and the consequences of it.

When you speak of dirt-eating, is that in consequence of any previous disorder, or is it from some other cause?

I have seen Negroes when they take a thing to heart, do it; we try every means we possibly can to prevent it, whenever we find that they take to it; we directly bring them into the kitchen, and try every means we possibly can to break them of it.

Then that inclination to destroy themselves you do not refer to any complaint or disorder of body, but merely to grief and despair?

I apprehend they do it when they take any thing to heart which vexes them exceedingly; those particular Negroes that do it commonly come from the Ebo country.

What proportion of them are there who fall into that kind of disorder?

I have known for years that there has not been one upon an estate; and I have known three or four take to it at once.

But you do not recollect what the proportion of the number of those

those that fall into that disorder bears to the number of those that keep clear of it?

There are few of them that do it.

I wanted to know the proportion ; for instance, do five or seven in a hundred take to it ?

No, God forbid it should be so. I have known four Negroes die in a year of it ; I have known five.

Out of what number ?

Out of three or four hundred.

Is that the highest number you have ever known in a year die of that disorder ?

I cannot tell the particular number.

Does it ever happen that a Negro takes to eating chalk, or any other sort of dirt, in order to relieve any disorder in his stomach ?

Almost all the women do.

Do any of the men do it in that manner ?

I do not know but what they may ; they will not let us see it.

But when they do it in order to relieve some disorder which they have in their stomach, do they persist in it in the same violent manner ?

When the cause is removed they in general give it over.

And do not take to it again unless the case should make it necessary ?

I think not.

Does that sort of disorder fall upon the Creoles as well as upon the imported Slaves ?

I have known both to have it.

Does it fall as often upon the Creoles, or in what proportion ?

I apprehend equally upon both.

Is it every sort of dirt, or is it any particular species of dirt ?

A particular sort of loomy marl.

Whether any punishment follows for eating dirt with an intent to destroy themselves ?

If feeding of them well can be called a punishment, they certainly have that ; we commonly take them in as soon as ever we find it, and give them every nourishing food that we possibly can, in order to make them break it off.

Do you suppose that it proceeds from their eating too much vegetable food?

I do not suppose that it does, because all Negroes then would be equally subject to it.

Have you ever heard whether they pursue the same practice in their own country?

I never was in their own country, and cannot tell.

You speak of the land being exhausted by the plough, and of the necessity of recruiting it again by importing manure, and particularly that you sent to Kingston for manure; is that an expensive article when you are obliged to send for it to Kingston?

That estate was situated near Kingston; it did not cost me any thing; for the manure was litter thrown out of the different stables, and I sent the carts and took it away; in the country there is no such thing as manure to be purchased or got; we would make use of double the quantity we make, if we could get it.

You speak of the difference between good Slaves and bad Slaves; do you mean diligent and idle Slaves, or hearty and weak Slaves?

By good Slaves, I mean diligent Slaves, that will take care of their houses; by bad Slaves, I mean people that do not.

You do not mean to include in that description, Slaves that are insufficient by means of their weakness of body or from disorders?

Slaves that are weak and insufficient from bodily disorders we do not work at any other work but what they are well able to go through.

Whether holing the land is not more severe labour than clearing of new land, or such as has been over-grown through neglect?

That is according to what sort of land it is you have to hole.

In general?

It is according to the sort of land you have to hole; some land is easy, some is stiff; in some, Negroes can do double the quantity that they can in others.

What sort of work do you put the Slaves that are weak of body to?

To clean canes, to clean pasture, and to do any light work.

That is not so hard a kind of work?

No.

When they take matters to heart, to what cause do you attribute it; is it from any hankering after their own country?

N n

I never

I never knew one that ever wished to go to it.

What cause do you then attribute it to?

I cannot tell.

Do you apply it merely to bodily causes?

I apprehend it is first brought on by acidity in the stomach.

Can you compute what loss it would be to you if Slaves were not imported; if the abolition of the Slave Trade were to take place?

If the abolition of the Slave Trade were to take place, I would get rid of my property at any rate I could.

What indemnity do you conceive you should want to put you in the same state as if the abolition were not to take place?

The value of my estates.

Then Mr. *Law*, of Counsel for the several Petitioners, requested Permission to proceed upon the Petition of the Merchants, Traders, and Ship-owners, concerned in the African Slave Trade, and to proceed through that Petition to its Close, more particularly because a Witness now attending was under the immediate Necessity of returning to his Ship, and proceeding upon his Voyage.

The Counsel were informed that they might proceed in that Course which they thought most advantageous for the Petitioners.

Whereupon the Counsel desired that Mr. *Joseph Fayrer* might be called in.

Accordingly Mr. JOSEPH FAYRER was called in; and being sworn, was examined as follows:

How long have you been employed in the African trade?

About twenty years; part of that time, during the war, I was sometimes cruising, and then returned to the African trade again.

In what year was you first employed in the African trade?

About the year 1770, or 1771.

In what capacity?

In two voyages as mate, and ever since as master.

How many voyages may you have performed during the twenty years of which you have spoken?

In the last ship that I had before the one I now have, the ship unfortunately

fortunately filled with water, and I lost all my papers, and I cannot speak very particularly to the different voyages.

Without particularizing the different voyages, what, according to the best of your recollection, has been the general number?

I think about eleven voyages, as master; and two voyages, as mate.

Were the voyages uniformly to the same part of the Coast, or to different parts of it?

To different parts of the coast, but mostly to the Gold Coast and to Whidah, the first parts of it; then three voyages to Bonny; then again to Whidah.

Are you well acquainted with the manner of purchasing Slaves?

Certainly I am, having been a number of voyages; and my conduct has always been approved of by my employers.

Having been employed upon the Coast to purchase Slaves, where, upon your leaving the Coast of Africa, did you carry them?

Mostly to Jamaica, the first part.

Are you merely acquainted with the Coast of Africa, or has it happened to you to be in the interior part of the country?

With both; the sea-coasts which I have traded to, and also some of the interior parts of Africa, particularly Whidah and the kingdom of Dahomy, the inland part.

Will you specify when it was you first went up into the interior part of the country?

I think in the year 1783 or 1784; or in part of both those years I think I was there.

How far is Dahomy from the sea-coast?

From the best calculation that I could make in the way we travelled, a hundred miles or upwards, I think.

Is Dahomy a state or kingdom, with a sovereign at the head of it?

Most certainly it is; a very despotic kingdom too.

What is the capital of it?

Abomy is the capital of it; there are four palaces, Abomy, Aguina, Kelmina, and Adowy.

Was you at all the places of which you have been speaking?

At all of them.

Was you there more than once, or once only?

I was there several times.

The

The first time you went up, who accompanied you?

The governor of the English fort at Whidah; Gug Wee is the name of the place where the English fort is. There is a French fort and a Portuguese fort within pistol shot of each other.

In what way did you travel into the interior part of the country?

The only way of travelling is in hammocks suspended on a pole, unless we chose to walk, which would almost be impossible from the intense heat, and we mostly travel in the night, being much cooler, and better for the people who carry us.

How long was you in going from the sea-coast to Abomy?
About three days.

At what rate did you travel?

I think at the rate of five miles an hour: they go exceedingly fast; they mostly ran with us; for when we have got out to walk, the men that have carried us have been exceedingly impatient, and desired that we would get in, that they might get on the faster.

Did you go up in consequence of any invitation from the sovereign of the country, or of your own accord?

It being about the time the king makes his customs, he wishes to see White people, and generally sends for the English governor, the Portuguese governor, and the French governor, and all the White people that will attend.

Was it upon an occasion of this sort that you went up?

Partly by the king's desire, and in hopes of gaining some advantages in trade also.

Having spoken of the king making his customs, what is meant by that expression?

The customs are to make human sacrifices, which are done in abundance in the most horrid manner.

In what way was you received upon your arrival at Abomy?

When I came to the gates, there is a bridge that is thrown over an entrenchment into the place; our being there was announced to the king, and we were admitted; then we went on for some distance, about half a mile or a mile, till we came to a big tree, where we were desired to sit down: as the governor had been there before, they directed their civilities mostly to me, being a stranger; he went to the place allotted him to live in, and I was ordered to sit down under the tree. The first that came to me were three or four eunuchs,

eunuchs, I really cannot speak to the number, at least I was told they were eunuchs; they asked me how I came there? if I had met with any insult? and how I was? and inquiries of that kind. After telling them I was very well, another set of people came to me, which are called the king's half-heads, from their having one side of their heads shaved and the other quite bare; the ornaments they wore, at least they were pleased to call them ornaments, were human teeth strung in very great quantities over their shoulders, crossing at the breast. After saying something to me in the same manner, asking how I was, and so forth—I forgot to mention that the eunuchs brought water and spirits with them, of which they desired me to drink by way of refreshment. After the half-heads left me, then came the captain of the soldiers, accompanied by a very large number of soldiers; much the same ceremony passed between him and me as from the others. This over, they desired me to get into the hammock again; they carried me along, as they said to the king's door, where they danced and capered round me, and fired their musquets loaded with powder, and very much overcharged, I thought, a circumstance not very agreeable. In our way to the king's door, through the market-place, there were two human bodies hung by the heels; this shocked me very much indeed, and led me to inquire what was the cause of it; the reply the interpreter made to me was, they were there to take care of the market. Vultures were even fixed in the crutch of the poor creatures that were hung up, and were feeding upon their entrails, standing upon them as they were hanging; they had not been hung up there long before.

What was meant by taking care of the market?

I apprehend what they meant by it was, that justice should be done, or that something of the kind would happen to those who did wrong; that is what I apprehended, but I never heard the reason.

Were they malefactors?

I cannot tell—I believe not.

Did you understand that this was a peculiar circumstance, or that it constantly or often happened?

I was told from the natives, that it was very frequent, that as one fell to pieces another was put in the place.

Were they hung up alive, or after they were dead?

After they were dead, I apprehend; their private parts being cut
O o
away,

away, which I was told was, that they should not give offence to the women in the market.

Besides what you have described, did you see any thing else that struck you in passing along?

Not just at that time, not in my way to the king's door. From the market-place I was carried directly to the king's door: when I came to the king's door, they ran with me very fast three times round a large tree, and at the king's door all the grandees were sitting to receive me; after going the third time round, they got up from the skins, and other things that they were sitting on, and welcomed me to the country. That ceremony over, I was then carried to the place allotted me to live in, the rabble and soldiers still dancing and capering round me. When I came to the house I was to reside in, I met with the governor; I there gave the captain of the soldiers, the principal eunuchs, and the principal of the half-heads, each a flask of brandy, which I understood it was the custom to do; when they had got the flask of brandy, the rabble dispersed. During the same day I saw a vast number of human heads in different places near the king's house, and over great men's doors, which the birds of prey were feeding on.

Describe the place in which the king resides?

His house is walled in with a mud wall about fifteen feet high; the distance, as near as I could compute it to be, was about two miles and three quarters, or three miles and a half; but it was that at least; on the top of the wall were human heads also stuck, I believe about nine or ten inches, or a foot, distant; I cannot say the distance, but they were very near.

Were these heads planted at equal, or at nearly equal distances all round the circumference of the wall?

Nearly round it; besides these there were a great number on the thatch, and other places about the king's house and the king's door.

Have you seen heads upon the walls surrounding other houses, as well as that in which the king resides?

No; not on any other houses, only the king's houses; there are other of the king's houses that have some.

In passing through the town, did you or did you not observe several piles of human heads?

I saw very large piles, and a great number of them.

In

In what manner, and owing to what cause did you understand the deaths of these several persons to have been ?

Those that were piled up in that manner, I was told by the natives, were such as had been sacrificed annually in memory of, and to serve their late king : they imagine that they are to serve their king after death.

Are you to be understood to say, that these were sacrifices made upon occasion of the death of the late king ?

There is annually a sacrifice made to the late king ; but I shall speak of that :—The last time I was up at Whidah, in a letter I wrote to a friend of mine on this voyage, giving him an account of this country merely for amusement——

Did you understand from the natives that this was a common or an uncommon event ?

A very common event ; annually.

Did you then understand that human sacrifices were annually performed ?

Certainly ; I understood it from every body that spoke of it.

Did any thing further pass, that is material to relate, during the first time you was up at this place ?

Very material : After I had been up a little while, after two or three days, I was called to the king's door, and went accordingly. After we went to the king's door, we were desired to sit under a thatched shed, for the purpose, as I believed. The king being acquainted with our being there, desired us to come in ; the English governor was with me when I went to see the king ; when we came into the king, he was attended by a few women, and his grandees were lying prostrate at his feet, kissing the ground, and throwing dirt over their heads, as a token of submission, as I suppose. The conversation we had was upon different trifling matters ; asking me how I came into the country ? how I liked it ? and things of that sort ; and we were dismissed. He reminded us of a present that is generally given him ; which we told him we would prepare and bring the next time ; in two or three days after that, we told him, that the present was ready, and we would wait upon him whenever he chose.

Did he express any concern to you, that you had not arrived sooner, so as to be present at these human sacrifices ?

After the first compliments were over, that was the first thing he said, that he was very sorry that I was not there at the time he
made

made his sacrifice or customs. I told him I was very happy it so happened; for it was very contrary to the customs of White men.

You said the soldiers wore teeth as ornaments; did they wear any other ornaments of a peculiar sort?

The drums of the soldiers were decorated with human skulls and jaw-bones; and which they told me were the human skulls and jaw-bones of generals which they had taken in war.

Did any war happen in the country shortly after your return from Abomey to the fort upon the Coast?

There did, which was the cause of my staying a very long time there; for we had no trade during the war at all. The war was between that king and one Port Agray.

Was the effect of this war to delay your stay in the country?

It was really the case; there was no other reason given why we had no trade but the war.

From your experience of this particular trade, are wars among the native powers beneficial or injurious to the trade in Slaves?

Wherever I have been, wherever a war took place, it always was detrimental to trade, and very materially so.

Have you found more difficulty in procuring Slaves when there were wars than when there was peace?

When there were wars, I said before, there was very great difficulty in procuring Slaves.

Whether this observation that you last made applies to Whidah only, or to all those parts of the Coast with which you are acquainted?

Upon the Gold Coast and Whidah. At other places there have never been any wars while I have been there, that I know of.

From your knowledge of this trade, can it be the interest of the European trader to promote wars between the native powers?

Far to the contrary, as far as my knowledge of the trade can lead me to judge.

Do you know what became of the prisoners made in the war of which you have spoken?

In the war that happened at Whidah when I was there, we understood from the natives, and many who had been there, and whom I saw and conversed with, that they were mostly killed, and their heads ordered to be carried up to the king of Dahomy.

Have,

Have you, or have you not, in fact, seen heads carrying up in baskets for this purpose?

I have, in great numbers, on men's heads, two or three in a basket together, and I think in some four, which were very offensive indeed, though they were at a good distance from me.

Was you able, during this war, to complete your purchase of Slaves?

Far to the contrary: I think I only bought seven Slaves during the war; during five months.

Was this, to the best of your knowledge, owing to the war?
I was so informed by the natives.

In the same period of time, what number in time of peace should you have expected to have purchased?

I should have expected, in that time, to have purchased at least 500.

How did war prevent it?

By reason that the trading men and all the great men were obliged to attend the war, instead of going to market for trade.

Having before said, that you was after this a second time at Abomy, I wish to ask you what happened upon the second occasion?

It was in consequence of the badness of the trade that I was induced to take a second journey up to Dahomy; I was in hopes I should have had some influence with the king to have gone on with my trade.

At what time did you make this second journey?

I cannot justly speak to the time; it might be about six or seven months after, or eight months, in all probability.

What happened upon that occasion?

It was in the rainy season, and I got up with very great difficulty; one part of the road which they called the Bush, is dreadful indeed, very bad to get through; and I saw some human bodies lying there, their burthen had been too much for them, and they had lain down and died there from the inclemency of the weather. From the fatigue in going up, I had not been in Dahomy above three or four days before I was taken exceedingly ill, and obliged to be carried down again.

Was you afterwards there in the year 1790?

I was, in 1790 or 1791.

Who were the persons that you went up with then?

The second in command at the English fort went up with me; but there was at the same time a French governor, an English governor, the Portuguese governor, and a French captain.

Was this the time of what you have called Custom-making?

It was so; it was a custom-making to the last king that died, which was about a year and a half before that time, which they call the Grand Custom-making.

Did you see any persons carrying, in their way to be sacrificed?

A great number.

State nearly about how many, as accurately as you can.

I cannot speak exactly; I suppose I might see 150; I think more.

In what state were they at this time?

They were carried on men's shoulders, gagged; and they danced about with them round our house, in order to let us see them, though we desired that they would not do so.

From the number of heads which you yourself saw upon this occasion, how many do you conceive the number sacrificed to have been?

There was a great number of sacrifices made daily for about a month, while I was there; but the latter sacrifice had been very great indeed, what they call their Grand Custom-day; and from the best calculations that the gentlemen who were with me could make, there were at least 500 heads cut off. The dead bodies frequently were carried past the place where we lived, or trailed along with a string tied to one of the legs of the headless body. We remonstrated against their bringing them that way; and at last the king ordered them not to come that way any more.

Were these, scenes of exultation or of depression to the persons concerned in them?

They were dancing, singing, and laughing, as they went along with them.

Did they sacrifice men only, or men and women indiscriminately?

Both sexes, but mostly men; and I think more old men than young.

Do

Do you know, what description of persons they were who were sacrificed upon these occasions?

I have reason to believe they were the Dahomians, the king's subjects, because they make a kind of distinction between those taken in war, and those that are to be sacrificed for the king. Those sacrificed for the king are generally given by the principal head trader and head men, according to their consequence; they give a number each of them to be sacrificed, and those heads are what are piled up, but the heads taken in war are generally stuck up round the walls.

Do you know what becomes of the blood shed upon those occasions?

I was told by the natives that a great part of it was taken to mix with mud, in order to build a temple in memory of the late king; a Fettiſh-house, as they call it.

From your knowledge of the country, and of the manners of the people, would the abolition of the Slave Trade lessen the number of human sacrifices?

It is my opinion that the sacrifices would be far greater, were it not for the trade.

State your reasons why?

There would be no market for them; and what gives me reason to believe so is, that it is young people only that we bring off, and I saw a great number of those that were sacrificed were old; indeed, I have heard the great men say, that there was usually a greater number killed than was then; that was nothing; and they seemed to laugh at me when I talked of it with concern.

Are you then convinced, that the purchasing of Slaves is often the saving of their lives?

I have very great reason to believe that it is.

While you was in the interior part of the country, did you yourself purchase any Slaves?

Most undoubtedly I did; and the first parcel that I was called to look at was seventeen.

State what happened to these men?

They were fine young people, but exceedingly thin; on inquiring the cause, they told me they had been a long time confined, and that it was for want of victuals; they themselves put their hand upon their bellies, and said, "Master, buy me, and give me victuals enough,

enough, and you will soon see me strong," and stretched out their arms.

Are then the Slaves in general desirous to continue in the situation in which they are, or to be purchased by European captains?

From the manner of the behaviour of those first seventeen, I should imagine they would much rather be bought; they desired it, and I bought them, or rather agreed for them; after which, having an opportunity the next day to send them down to the ship, and messengers with them, I went to Tamigan, who was the person who shewed them to me; he is what they call prime minister, next the king, and he calmly told me the king had killed them the night before.

Was it explained to you why the king had killed them the night before?

They told me that his fettishman had told the king that there was immediate occasion for a sacrifice, and that he would give me others instead of them.

Have any Slaves, other than those of which you have now been speaking, ever applied to you to buy them as an act of favour and mercy to themselves?

I was called to purchase many during my stay there; I mostly found them exceedingly thin, and from the causes I before stated; as I was told they very rarely get one meal a day while they are in the trunk, as they call it, which is the place they keep them in, which the Slaves that were shewn me always complained of, and very often said, "White man, buy me."

Having bought them, had you ever any conversation with them about leaving them in their own country, or in case of their being on board of your ship, about sending them back again?

Upon going on board my ship, seeing some of those very people that were before so very thin look fat, sleek, and very hearty, it of course led me to say something to them; and in a joking way I have said to them, "Well, now you have got fat and strong, will you go back to Dahomy?" they have said, "No, you do me well;" which is as much as to say, you treat me well; "You give me plenty to eat, plenty to drink; if you cut our heads off, it makes no matter."

What language did they speak in?

Through an interpreter: in their country, they said, they were not only starved, but they cut off their heads.

Had you any reason to suppose that any of these were convicts, or people guilty of crimes?

I apprehend there must have been a good many of them of that description.

Do you conceive that there were others sold who were guilty of no crime whatever?

I believe, from the caprice of their masters, sometimes for imaginary faults, they are sent off from the country; I believe that may be the case very often.

Did you, during the long course of your continuance in the African trade, ever know an instance of a Slave being purchased, who had been sentenced to death in the way of this human sacrifice, whose life had been saved by his being bought?

It is my opinion that a great many are; it is Slavery with those, or death: to be sold, seems only a milder way of punishment than death.

Was you ever eye-witness to any man's life being saved, that is, who was condemned to death by the custom of that country, and who was saved by being purchased for a Slave?

I cannot say that I have been present at any time when any one person was saved.

Have you in your different conversations with the Slaves when on board your ship, understood from them, that their lives had been saved by their being sold to Europeans?

I have been told by themselves, that they have been saved, that they were glad they were got there, for "had I not come here my head would have been cut off;" that has been very frequently said.

When Slaves have been in general brought on board of the ship, have they expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction at their being brought into that situation?

Some, out of the interior parts of the country, may shew a little fear at seeing a number of White men together; but in a very little time they are reconciled, and seem very much contented indeed.

Have you ever had occasion to converse with the kings or with the chief people in these African States where Slaves are procured, relative to any idea that had been started in this country concerning any restraint to be proposed on this trade?

The last voyage I was there, the Abolition of the Trade having been spoken of, I have sometimes, to the great men, said, it was thought that would be the case.

Qq

What

What was the answer that they made upon that?

They generally said, White men were fools; they knew very well what to do with them if they did not buy them.

Did you ever understand from any of the people, from the Black traders, that they had any eastern channel of conveying Slaves out of Africa, as well as the western channel, with which we are so well acquainted?

I have never understood any way that Slaves went but by shipping.

Question repeated.

I do not understand the question.

You being of course a seaman, having been many voyages to that country, must be aware that the eastern coast of Africa is bounded by the water as well as the western; do you therefore know, that the Slave Trade is carried on, upon the eastern coast of Africa, as well as upon the western, from whence all the European nations have hitherto supplied their West-India islands with Slaves?

All the Slaves that I know of, are conveyed from any port of Africa that I have been at, in shipping.

The Black traders come, by their own accounts, very great distances from the interior part of the country; have these Black traders ever informed you, that people on the eastern side of the African coast had bargained with them for Slaves, as they do upon the western coast? Do you know any thing of the eastern coast of Africa?

I know nothing of the eastern coast.

You know upon the map where it lies: the *Red Sea* and *Babel-mandel*; do you know any thing of them?

I know there are those places.

Did any of the traders converse with you about the eastern coast, and the trade there?

I cannot charge my memory that any of them have.

Respecting these human sacrifices, whether they are the effect of religious superstition, or of despotic and arbitrary power?

Partly both.

Has the king of the country you have been speaking of, a very large standing army?

The whole country is his army whenever he pleases.

But

But has the king what we call a standing army, independent of the citizens at large?

Always.

To what amount?

It is impossible for me to speak to the amount; but it is very considerable indeed.

Who got the better in that war that you have mentioned?

The king of Dahomy.

During the course of your acquaintance with the African coast, have you found greater difficulty in purchasing females than in purchasing males?

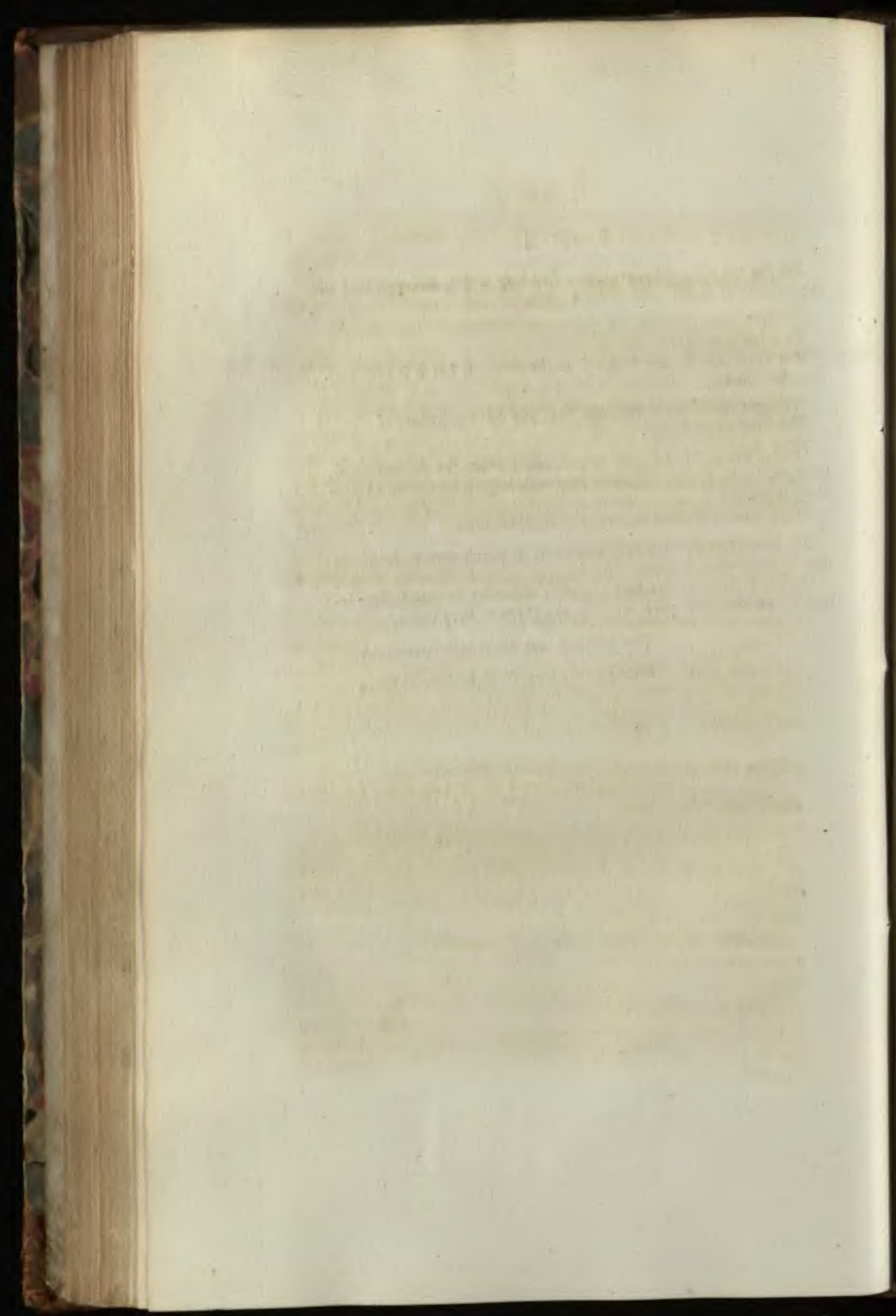
In some parts of the coast more so than in others.

But in general did you find more ease in purchasing male Slaves than in purchasing females?

On the Gold-coast we find a greater difficulty in purchasing females; on the other parts we just take them as they come.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.



Die Martis, 5^o Junij 1792.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into further Con- Slave Trade.
sideration the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance, of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the West-India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the several Petitioners to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in support of their several Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

The Counsel were called in.

Then JOHN BARNES, Esquire, was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Have you ever resided in Africa?

I have.

In what parts of it?

I resided some years in Senegal.

How long?

Upwards of eight years.

Have you resided in any other part of Africa?

I have not resided in any other part of Africa, though I have visited several other parts.

In what situation was you when you resided in Africa?

I was a prisoner in Senegal for some months before the capture of it from the French in the year 1758: I afterwards resided several years as a merchant there; and at length I was governor at that place for the African Company.

How long was you in the situation of governor?

About three years.

During your residence in Africa did you visit any, and what parts of the interior of the country?

I have been about eighty leagues up the river Senegal several times: I have been about one hundred and fifty leagues up the river

R r

Gambia.

Gambia. I have not been in the interior of the country in any other part of Africa.

Are you acquainted with the government, manners, and customs, of any of the Negro nations in Africa?

I have some little acquaintance with all the different nations which I have visited; but more especially with those nations that lay between Senegal and Gambia.

What is the state of civilization in that country?

The inhabitants, so far as I have been acquainted with them on the sea-coast and on the banks of the river, where they had frequent intercourse with the Europeans, are a good deal civilized, and the progress of civilization seems to be in proportion to that intercourse. Those which I have met with in the interior country, and who have not had the opportunity of such intercourse, are in general very rude.

Is the native government of the country which you have been speaking of, generally mild or oppressive?

It is in general mild, with some few exceptions.

Was justice, as far as you was able to observe, fairly administered?

I believe very fairly; the manner of distributing of justice is such, that it cannot be otherwise. It is administered by the elders of the different places, in the presence of the people at large, and generally not only to the conviction of the judges, but to the satisfaction of the public.

Have any attempts been made to introduce the Christian religion into these countries; and if so, with what success?

When Senegal was taken from the French, in the year 1758, there was a large congregation, and a very decent one at that place of the Christian religion—Catholics: the chaplain to the garrison took great pains to instruct the inhabitants, and to educate their children; for which purpose he kept an open school in the chapel belonging to the fort. When I came to the command of that place, in the year 1763, I recommended the same mode very strongly, with the addition of a schoolmaster in aid of the chaplain. This mode was adopted at home in the new government, which afterwards took place under his Majesty; but I understand that the office of chaplain and the office of schoolmaster were consolidated in one person, and given to somebody in the king's chapel here, who served the office by a substitute; that substitute I saw in Africa before I left it; he appeared to me to be the most profligate, and a man of the worst

worst morals that I think I have ever met with ; and, instead of being of service to religion, he was a disgrace to it. After that, during the whole course of time while we held Senegal, the care of religion was totally neglected. On some other parts of the coast the Portuguese have endeavoured to introduce the Christian religion, at Cacheau and at Bissau ; but the religion there is a very corrupt one.

Are the native inhabitants of the countries of which you have been speaking, industrious, or otherwise ?

They are the most indolent people, I think, I have ever known ; they have not a thought beyond the present moment, and their industry only extends to the supply of their immediate wants, and no further ; besides, they have no appropriation of lands in that country ; they have no security for the produce of their industry ; the man who cultivates the spot of ground in the present year, cannot promise himself the possession of it in the next. There is generally an allotment made by the principal inhabitants of every town at seed-time, of the grounds then to be cultivated ; each man cultivates his portion, or what he thinks proper of it ; but his possession goes no further than the present crop.

What is the state of manufactures and commerce ?

In all the countries which I have been acquainted with in Africa, there is a little manufacture of cotton cloth, some little manufacture in metals, chiefly for the purposes of agriculture, and in some places for defence or in war ; but their manufacture in general is very rude and very trifling ; their commerce consists of some few natural products of the country ; some dying woods, a little beeswax, ivory, a very little gold ; but the chief commerce is Slaves.

Does the Slave Trade appear to be of ancient or of recent growth in that country ?

The Slave Trade has every appearance of the most remote antiquity ; it appears to me to be as ancient as society in those countries. In one particular country, the language of which I was very well acquainted with, the very name for a freeman implies only, a master of Slaves.

What country was that ?

The country of the Jollofs.

Is this trade universal throughout Africa, as far as you are acquainted with it ?

I believe there is no country in Africa without it.

In what manner do persons become Slaves ?

As

As far as I have been able myself to observe, they become Slaves by the commission of crimes; sometimes by debts which they are unable to pay; very often by a surrender of liberty for protection; but more especially for maintenance, for support; and sometimes by capture in war, as I have understood.

What are the crimes, the commission of which subjects them to Slavery?

Any crime of an atrocious nature, theft, robbery, sometimes even murder, though that is generally punished by death; frequently adultery; and often a crime not known in this country, witchcraft; which last has generally a more dreadful effect than any other, because the person charged with that crime, involves in his guilt the whole family: a family of any one individual who is convicted of witchcraft, is supposed to be entirely tainted.

Do you mean, that by that they become Slaves?
The punishment is generally Slavery, I believe.

How are they tried for witchcraft?

They have various modes of trying; but it is a trial generally by the priests.

Do you know whether the trial is fair and open always?
It is as fair and open as a trial of that nature is capable of.

Was the event of such trials in general satisfactory or otherwise to the people, as to the administration of justice?

I think, in a former part of my evidence I stated that it is always so; it is to the conviction of the judges, and to the satisfaction of the people at large, who are generally present at those trials.

Can you explain what you mean by saying, that it is as fair and open as the nature of the case will admit?

It is very evident that a trial for witchcraft cannot be proved by evidence of the facts, I am well aware of that. A man charges his neighbour with bewitching himself, or his wife or child; his child, or whoever has been the object of this complaint, is dead, and he alleges, that such a man has been the cause of his death through witchcraft; the circumstances of his death are inquired into; the parties report, that they do not know of any natural cause, for instance, for his death; they conclude that it must be by some such means as witchcraft; and if it appears that the person charged, is the most likely person to have committed it by communication with the party, they attach the guilt upon him. They have other tests in some parts of Africa; they give them certain waters compounded by the priests;—they have the test of the hot iron, of the plough-share,

share, as I have understood, though I have not seen those things. In all trials of this sort, we know very well there cannot be a fair trial; but according to the practice of the country, and the notions of the people, it is as fair as the nature of it will admit. The people themselves are satisfied with the fairness of it; and neither the party himself, or his relations, feel any oppression in the practice.

Is the trial for witchcraft ever in secret?

I do not know that it is.

Is this mode of trial, such as it is, of recent introduction, or is it supposed to be immemorial?

I believe it is of the oldest date in the country; and I have the satisfaction to observe, that in those countries where we have more intercourse with these people, where they have acquired more civilization and more knowledge, those trials are less frequent than in the more barbarous parts of the country.

Have you any reason to recollect that any of those trials were private?

I do not recollect any within my knowledge.

Having stated that captives in war become Slaves by reason of their captivity, what would be their fate if they were not purchased as Slaves?

It is impossible for me to say that. During my residence in Senegal we had no war. I have understood that very few captives in war are made Slaves: the particular objects of resentment upon these occasions are generally murdered; others have generally an opportunity of redeeming themselves. I have always understood from people in trade, which convinces me of the truth of my opinion, that the trade is not so brisk in times of war in the country as it is at other times.

You stated, that during the time you have been there, there has been no war; did you mean during the time you was in Senegal as governor there, or during your residence in the upper country?

I meant to say, that during the whole time of my residence in Africa, there was not any war among any of the nations bordering upon the place where I resided.

Do you speak of Senegal?

I speak of Senegal; I speak further,—that in the different parts of Africa where I have visited, not Senegal, I never was in any part of the country where a war actually existed at the time;

S f

and

and therefore I cannot speak from my own certain knowledge of the immediate effects of war.

In what is witchcraft supposed to consist?

Generally, as far as I have understood of its effects, in producing bad health, and sometimes the death of an individual.

Are crimes ever imputed for the purpose of making Slaves?

I am confident they are not; and I think, from the evidence I have already given, it is not practicable.

Do the princes of the country break up their villages, or seize their subjects merely to sell them as Slaves?

I never heard of such a thing in Africa, and I am confident no such thing exists; I speak under the caution of my oath.

Do you mean to say that no such thing exists upon the whole continent of Africa?

I am confident no such thing exists.

Is stealing Slaves, or what is commonly called kidnapping, practised?

I do not know of any such practice; and I think I can say further, I do not believe there is such a practice.

Has the Slave Trade increased or diminished, since the time when you first became acquainted with it?

It has not increased in any of the countries which I have been acquainted with; on the contrary, I think it has rather lessened.

From your knowledge of the country and acquaintance with the Slave trade, would wars among the native powers be beneficial or otherwise to that trade?

I do not see in what respect it could be beneficial to that trade.

And you do not conceive they would be so?

I do not.

Is the country, according to any observation that can be made of it, less populous than formerly?

As far as I have been able to observe, it is rather more populous; and I find that observation confirmed by the report of every body whom I have conversed with. Whether that appearance of improvement in the population be an actual increase, or whether it be from an encouragement to the interior people to settle nearer the sea-coasts, and those parts which we are acquainted with, for the purposes of commerce,

commerce, I cannot take upon me to say; but, upon the whole, I do believe the country is just now as populous as at any time since our first knowledge of it.

Is there less encouragement than formerly to bring Slaves for sale from the interior parts of the country down to the coast, or to furnish them on the coast?

No; the encouragement is much greater than when I knew the trade first. When I was first acquainted with the African trade, a cargo of Slaves could have been purchased on the river Gambia, or at Bonny, where I have been, at an average of about seven or eight pounds per Slave; of late years, the prices have been above treble that. When Senegal was taken from the French in 1758, the common price of Slaves given by the French was from twenty to about forty shillings sterling per Slave; when we got possession of that place, the price of Slaves was presently, from the competition among the shipping, raised to the usual price given by the English for Slaves upon the other parts of the coast; and yet the number of Slaves has been generally the same.

What is the condition of the Slaves in Africa?

The condition, as far as I have been able to observe, is in general the most deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be subject to; they have no security for their persons; they have no security for property; they are altogether at the will, and subject to the humour of a master, who is not amenable to any law for his treatment of them, and who may kill them at his pleasure. He has very little interest in their preservation, having very little industry to employ them in; and when provisions are scarce, it may be more for his interest to destroy them. This I observe with only one exception, respecting the Slaves immediately about a man's person, born in his family, and immediately employed about his household offices, or perhaps in suckling his children; they are not generally disposed of in this way without an imputation of a crime, and commonly a hearing before their fellows; but even that, with the controul of a master over his Slaves, and who is bent upon the destruction of an individual Slave, does not give the culprit the best chance, I am afraid.

Were a master to put such a culprit to death, would he be amenable to any law for so doing?

To no law upon earth; he would incur the displeasure of his Slaves; no further.

Are you now talking of the African master?

I am

I am talking of the native of Africa, an owner of Slaves.

Are there any individuals or classes of men in Africa who possess a considerable number of Slaves?

There are some, who, I believe, possess large numbers. The king of Bonny is master of his people; the greatest part of his subjects, most of them, are his Slaves; but in general, in the more civilized countries they do not possess great numbers of Slaves. There is an order of priests among the Moors of South Barbary, who possess a very large number of Slaves settled in the Negro-land, a number of villages consisting only of the Slaves of those people who are employed in agriculture, and other purposes, for their service.

Does the manumission of Slaves ever take place in Africa?

I never knew a single instance of it from natives of Africa.

Have you been in any of the islands of the West Indies, so as to have an opportunity of comparing the condition of the Slave there with that of the Slave in Africa?

I have been in the islands of Barbadoes, of Antigua, and in Jamaica; and I have been some months in each of them; and I have been in the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and I think the most abject state of Slavery in those islands is an infinitely more desirable condition than that of the best and most favoured Slave in Africa.

If the Slave trade were to be totally abolished, would it be a means of lessening the number of Slaves in Africa?

I think it is pretty clear, from the evidence which I have already given, that the causes of Slavery in Africa have no relation to the Slave trade, and consequently that the number of forfeitures which may incur the penalty cannot be affected by it; the only difference is, that if we have no Slave trade, crimes must be punished perhaps in some other way; the creditor may have recourse to other means of satisfaction from his debtor, and captives in war may be otherwise disposed of. When I consider the cruelty and barbarity of that country at large, I think it is not a very difficult matter to guess what would be the alternative: I therefore conclude upon the whole, that the purposes of humanity could not be so effectually answered in any other way, as by a continuance of this trade.

What is the trade that is in general carried on by the natives of this country in Africa, besides the trade in Slaves?

I think I have already stated, in some, dying woods, bees-wax, ivory, and a little gold.

Would

Would this trade be sufficient of itself, supposing the Slave trade to be abolished, to give employment to the British vessels that are now employed in carrying on that trade?

The trade for dying woods, ivory, and bees-wax altogether, I believe, does not employ above seven or eight vessels. I am confident, if the Slave trade were abolished, that there would not be a single ship more employed in them, because the ivory and gold trade depend almost entirely upon the Slave trade; the ivory is generally brought down by the Slaves. If Slaves were not brought down, there would be very little ivory of course. It is to be observed in this, I do not speak of the trade for gum-senega, because that is a trade of South Barbary, not in the Negro country.

Would the abolition of this trade be highly injurious to the property of individuals at Liverpool, and other places now concerned in carrying on this commerce?

I have been acquainted with Liverpool for about forty years, and know it intimately, and I am confident that the town of Liverpool is indebted to this trade almost entirely for the increase of its wealth, the astonishing extent of the town, and the improvement of its port; and consequently that the loss of it would be attended with infinite injury to that town.

Can you state what is now the capital employed by the town of Liverpool and the merchants in it, in carrying on that trade?

It is impossible for me to state it with any precision; but I should think not less than six or seven millions of money; I am confident not less than that.

What are the number of tons of shipping employed?

I really cannot speak to it; I believe there are about 140 or 150 sail of ships employed in that trade.

What is the nature of the exports that take place from this country, and by which the Slave in Africa is purchased?

A great deal of British manufacture, a good deal of East-India goods, and some iron.

Would the abolition of this trade be prejudicial to the general manufacture and commerce of this country?

I think there is hardly a branch of the commerce of this country, that is not in a great measure interested in this trade; and I do not think but that the loss of it must be materially prejudicial to the interests of this country at large, not only in the African trade, simply in itself, but in almost every branch of our commerce involved in it.

Examined by the Lords.

Do you know of any trade carried on to Egypt, or to the eastern parts of Africa, from Senegal?

Not from Senegal: I have understood, and have been very well assured, from my inquiries, during my residence there, that from the interior country there is a very great trade with Egypt, and with North Barbary.

Have you any reason to believe, that the Emperor of Morocco, or any other of the Barbary States on the south side of the Mediterranean, annually make excursions towards the southern parts of Africa, for the purpose of maintaining a Black army?

There is a pretty regular commerce between Morocco and all that part of South Barbary, extending along the northern banks of Senegal; the Emperor of Morocco claims a sovereignty over that country, and sometimes sends an army down to collect tributes from the Moor chiefs; there are caravans likewise trading constantly between that country and Morocco, and between the interior countries and Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; in that commerce great numbers of young Slaves are purchased; and I have understood that the Emperor of Morocco mounts his Black cavalry from these Slaves.

You stated, that in the year 1758, when you first went to Senegal, the Christian religion had made some progress in the country; what was the original religion of the country, previous to the Christian religion being first introduced?

In a country adjoining to the Moors, it is evident that the Mahometan religion must be very prevalent; it is almost the general religion among the Negroes bordering upon the river Senegal, and it has made a great progress very far to the southward, I understood as far as Cape Mount; at the same time, there are several of these nations still pagans and idolaters.

Has the Protestant religion, during the time of your residence in Senegal, made any progress amongst the natives or not?

Not the least, for the reasons which I mentioned. There has been an attempt upon the Gold-coast, to introduce the Protestant religion there. A Negro was sent over some years ago, and got some education here; was ordained, and sent out as chaplain to the garrison of Cape Coast; I am giving this account as a member of the African committee, which I have been for a great many years, and therefore it comes within my own particular knowledge; but that has been attended with very little success; the man himself is an ignorant man,

man ; even his colour, I am afraid, did not give that respect for his profession which it might have done in a White man, and I am afraid he is not perfectly free from the superstitions of his country. The company's governor and council lately have instituted a very laudable scheme for the education of children at that place, and for the introduction of religion ; they have formed a society among themselves ; they have taxed themselves for the support of this plan ; and it is hoped, with proper encouragement, that something may be produced from it ; the African committee themselves have given it every encouragement in their power, and in the present year have directed that 60l. of the public money should be applied to that purpose.

Having stated relative to the gold and ivory trade, depending so immediately upon the Slave trade ; whether in the immediate traffic for Slaves, or in the traffic for dye wood, there is a greater mortality in seamen on the coast ?

That is a question which I cannot speak to from my own certain knowledge, having never been in a ship trading only for dye wood ; but as far as I have been acquainted with the trade, the mortality does not seem to me to depend upon the particular commerce ; it is pretty much the same, whether for Slaves, or for wood : the mortality in rivers, and particularly at a good extent up those rivers, and in unhealthy seasons of the year, is always great, whether for Slaves, or for any thing else ; on the contrary, the mortality upon the sea-coast, and in healthy seasons of the year, is generally very trifling.

You have stated yourself as being one, for some years, of the African committee ; you can therefore declare, whether the trade up the rivers, or the trade on the coast, is more immediately for the purposes of procuring dye wood, or for Slaves ?

The dye wood is always got up the rivers ; if it should at any time be purchased upon the sea-coast, it is brought thither down the rivers : I believe the dye wood never grows upon the sea-coast any where.

Having stated that you have been in the West-India islands, say how often you have been there ?

I have been twice in the island of Barbadoes.

Whether you have been in the West Indies more than once ?

To the best of my recollection, four times.

Did you proceed each time from the coast of Africa to the West Indies ?

Each time I did.

Did

Did you go in a ship on board of which were Slaves each time
Always.

During those four voyages did you see any act of cruelty or negligence used by the captain, or the mates of the Slave ships, towards the Negroes?

No; on the contrary, they have been in general treated with every possible attention.

Were the Slaves provided with proper food, and with a sufficient quantity?

In the first voyage from Africa to the West Indies we had a long passage, and the provisions of the ship were so exhausted, that before we made the island of Barbadoes the whole stock of provision was divided among us; I mean among the White people; at the same time there was still full provision for the Slaves. In all the other voyages, I have observed them well treated, and very well fed.

During the course of these voyages did you see that proper medical aid was afforded to the Slaves if they were sick?

Every possible care taken of them.

Was you ever embarked on board of a Slave ship previous to her cargo being complete?

Several times.

Having therefore an opportunity of seeing the Slaves brought on board, declare whether they appeared happy or miserable in being brought on board of the ships?

In general I have seen very little appearance of misery in them, except the appearance of that previous misery which they had gone through before they came on board those ships; generally exceedingly meagre, and with every appearance of the most deplorable wretchedness about them; and I am very confident that a great deal of the mortality on board the Slave ships is owing to the abundance of wholesome diet, and a quick repletion after the famine which they have been subject to before they came there.

During the passage did the Slaves appear to be happy and contented?

In general exceedingly so.

Did they express any particular marks of joy and satisfaction when they arrived in the West-India islands?

Great satisfaction upon making the land, and infinite pleasure at seeing numbers of their own colour inhabiting those islands, and seeing in what way they were employed and treated.

On the day of the sale of these Negroes in the islands, did th^e then likewise express particular satisfaction?

I cannot speak directly to that question, because I have not been at the sale of any cargo of Slaves.

Have you directly or indirectly, at this present moment, any concern with the Slave trade, or with the West-India islands?

None of any kind.

How many Slaves died during these four voyages in these ships?

I cannot answer that; I kept no account of them.

Were there many?

Two of these voyages were from the most sickly part of Africa, from Bonny; to the best of my recollection, in each voyage, the number of Slaves consisted of about 300; I think in one of them more. To the best of my remembrance, in the first voyage we lost eleven or twelve, I cannot speak with certainty; I am speaking merely from my memory; in the second, I believe, forty.

You spoke of the trials for witchcraft; whether you apprehend if the Slave trade should be abolished, that these trials for witchcraft would cease?

I do not think a single one of them would cease on that account.

According to the custom of war in that country, are many captives made in war?

I have already stated, that during my residence in that country, there was not any war; and therefore I cannot say any thing from my own knowledge.

I thought you had said, that war did not encourage the trade in Slaves?

I believe it will be found, that what I said of war I stated as from the best information I could collect, not from my own particular knowledge; and from the same source I can say, that I have understood there are not many captives made in war.

So it makes no great difference in the market, either one way or other, whether there are wars or not in that country?

I understand it makes little or no difference, because the most obnoxious people taken in war are generally put to death; the less obnoxious are suffered to redeem themselves, if they are able; and of those who may in consequence of war be actually sold for Slaves, many of them have been Slaves already.

When you went with these Slaves to any of the West-India islands, had you an opportunity of observing them after they were set on work ?

No; I never had an opportunity of following them to their new purchaser; I do not know any thing of their treatment there; I have always understood from the planters themselves, that they use every precaution to bring them gradually to their labour, not only on account of their health, but for their peace of mind likewise.

Then you understand they are not so happy after they are set on work, as they appear to be when they are first set on shore ?

I do not understand that to be the case; I understand, that every precaution being taken to bring them gradually to their labour, on seeing the example of others happy and easy under that labour, that they are not the less happy for being engaged in it, and seeing that that is the worst fate that is likely to befall them.

Have the Slaves in Africa any laborious employment generally put upon them ?

I have already stated, that there is little or no industry in Africa; and what employment the Slaves are put upon is of course very trifling.

What is the nature of the government of that part of Africa where you have resided ?

In general monarchical, but limited.

In what you have stated concerning the treatment of Slaves in Africa, do you mean to speak of their situation throughout all Africa, or on any particular part of the coast ?

I mean to speak from my own knowledge in those particular parts of Africa where I have resided, or which I have visited, and from the best information with respect to other parts; and I beg leave to observe, that I have had better means of information than many other people; I have been acquainted with the African trade for near forty years: excepting the thirteen years which I spent mostly in Africa, I have been in almost constant rotation as a member of the African committee, and am now a member of that board, which has given me an opportunity of better acquaintance with Africa than perhaps most men besides; I have made it my own particular study.

In what particulars does the superiority of the Slaves in the West-Indies, over the Slaves in Africa, appear to you chiefly to consist ?

In a security for their persons and property, in the protection of the laws, and a very powerful tie in the reputation of their masters.

Was

Was you ever concerned in the Slave trade yourself?

I have several times, but not lately.

How long have you discontinued that trade?

About two years.

In what years did you make the voyages you speak of to the West Indies on board Slave ships?

In the years 1753, 1754, 1755, in the year 1757 I think, and in the year 1761.

Whence arises the insecurity of the husbandman, which you spoke of, concerning the reaping of his crops?

I think I have stated, that the husbandman has a security for the crop which he plants, but he has no property in the soil, he has no security for a continuance of that ground; he has no appropriation, he cannot call it his for the second year.

Having stated that you have been in the French West India islands as well as in the British, whether the French treat their Slaves with more or less lenity than the English do?

The quantum of labour given to the Slaves in each island I am not acquainted with; as far as I was able to observe, in Martinique and in Guadaloupe, I thought the Slaves appeared very happy.

Did they appear more so than the Slaves in the English islands, or not, or equally so?

I really thought more so.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Then Mr. THOMAS SHARPLESS was called in; and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Have you resided any number of years in Africa?

Six years, from the year 1783 to 1789.

In what parts of Africa did you reside, and in what situation did you reside there?

As a trader or agent on the river Gambia.

Did you reside only there, or in other parts?

Only on the river Gambia.

Had you, during the time of your residence there, any means of acquiring an acquaintance with the government of that country?

From my residence on different parts of the river, I had an opportunity

portunity of knowing the manners and customs of the natives, both free and Slaves.

What is the nature of that government; is it mild and gentle, or oppressive and harsh?

In the different parts of the river that I was in, it was generally mild.

Is justice administered with tolerable fairness and impartiality?

Justice is administered by the oldest people in different lines of life: if there are disputes with free people, it is settled by free people; if amongst the Slaves, it is settled by the elders of the Slaves belonging to the person whose property they are.

Was you ever present at any trials in the courts of that country?

I have been present when inquiries have been made into disputes of both free people and Slaves.

Did justice appear to be fairly distributed to the people of that country?

Certainly it was; there was every means for the person accused of acquitting himself.

Do you speak of criminal as well as of civil justice?

I speak of the general crimes and disputes that happened both amongst the free people and amongst their Slaves.

What are the general causes for making Slaves?

There are many causes; but crimes are the general cause.

How do you know that crimes are the cause; are the persons who are convicted of crimes condemned to Slavery as a punishment for crimes; and if they are, what are the crimes which are so punished?

Adultery, theft, murder; and Slaves that are bad disposed, in running away from one master to another; these are generally sold.

In speaking of the latter class of persons, you speak of those who are antecedently in a state of Slavery, and who have run away from their masters?

Yes.

Was their condition therefore changed, as a punishment, to a more degraded state of Slavery?

The change that takes place is from the owner to the ships.

Do you mean, that the change made is from being a menial Slave attending the person of the owner, to the condition of being sold to be transported from Africa?

Certainly, that is what I mean.

Have you been present at the trials of any persons who have been condemned to Slavery for crimes?

Never but at one alone.

Was that trial conducted publicly?

Publicly.

To the apparent satisfaction of the by-standers?

It was.

What was the crime for which the person you allude to was tried, and what was the punishment which he was sentenced to undergo?

It was for obtaining money under a false pretence, making use of another person's name, and receiving money in that person's name, who had not sent him.

What was the punishment?

He was sold.

Do you know of any punishment by which persons are sentenced to pay any given number of Slaves for the commission of a crime?

These sentences are made agreeable to the circumstances of the people who are guilty.

What is the highest number of Slaves in which you remember any persons to have been fined?

More or less, I cannot speak to a certain number; two, generally; it is a general custom, if a free man has committed a crime and he is sold, if he has property, and can redeem himself, he generally pays two, three, or sometimes four Slaves to the king of the country where he commits the crime.

Are these Slaves so paid by way of redemption of the offender from personal Slavery?

They are.

Did you ever know of any crimes being imputed to persons in order to compel them to become Slaves?

I never heard of any.

Did you ever know of an instance of villages being broken up for the

the purpose of taking the inhabitants of those villages, and reducing them to a state of Slavery ?

I never knew an instance of that kind.

Have you known any instance of persons being arbitrarily seized without the imputation of a crime by the princes of the country, and compelled to become Slaves ?

I never did.

Is kidnapping practised there for the purpose of compelling the people forcibly to become Slaves ; do you know of any instances of kidnapping ?

I never knew an instance of kidnapping of any kind.

Do you know of any wars having been commenced for the purpose of making the captives in those wars Slaves ?

I remember a war taking place, the dispute was a family one, and the war lasted some time, in the event of which a large town was destroyed, and a number of prisoners were taken, to the amount of 120 ; out of these they might sell from ten to fourteen, and I bought eleven out of that number, out of the fourteen.

What became of the rest ?

Those that I had bought told me that they had sacrificed a few, two or three mornings together.

A few of the unbought captives ?

A few of the remainder.

Did the Slaves you purchased appear to be happy in the change of situation they made, from that in which they had been before, to that which they acquired in your service ?

Of those I bought, some were Slaves before, some were free ; one in particular, a very old man, when I was taking a look round at them, beckoned to me, and told me, that if I did not purchase him, and he should be returned back unfold, his case would be desperate—he must be murdered.

How did he tell you ?

In the country language.

Which you understood ?

Perfectly well ; he was a free man, and begged I would purchase him ?

Did you purchase him ?

I did ; but he was so old, that it was not worth my notice to send him off, and his friends paid a Slave to go in the vessel in lieu of

of him, and he went to another country; but he could not go to live in the same town till the dispute was settled.

You have said, that two or three were sacrificed of a morning, of the remainder of the 120 persons taken that war, and out of which you bought fourteen; do you know what became of the rest of those persons, or were they all sacrificed except the fourteen?

They were not all sacrificed.

What became of those who were not?

Some were redeemed by their friends.

Can you form a judgment of the number that were, in fact, sacrificed out of the 120?

From the report of those that I purchased, there might be from about twelve to twenty, that were sacrificed.

Are human sacrifices frequent in that country?

No, they are not in Gambia River.

Have you any means of knowing whether they are frequent in any other parts of Africa?

None at all; I have no knowledge of any other part.

Have you ever seen any of those sacrifices made, or seen the remains of the persons who have been so sacrificed?

I never attended any of the sacrifices at all.

Did you see the remains of any persons who have been sacrificed?

I never did.

Do you believe that the Slave trade operates as any temptation or inducement to the making of war in that country?

No; the wars are a check to the trade; and with respect to those two towns that did quarrel, I had the opportunity of experiencing the hurt which the war occasioned.

Do you mean that it occasioned a considerable interruption of the trade, or in what manner did it occasion the mischief that you speak of?

By preventing the interior Slaves from coming through that country to be sold.

Are there any considerable number of Slaves brought down to the coast, from the interior parts of Africa, for the purpose of sale?

There are; the river Gambia running in length 800 miles, there is a great tract on each side of the river, where we frequently build
houses,

houses, and settle persons in them for the purpose of purchasing Slaves, wax, and ivory; and wherever wars happen, our factories upon that ground are destroyed, which was my case in the town where those people were caught; I had a factory in it; the people who overpowered them, desired the man to open the store door, not that they wanted to take any money out, but they wished to see if he had concealed any of the inhabitants of the town; after searching it they found none, nor did they meddle with any part of the property.

You stated, that you had acquired from eleven to fourteen Slaves who had been made prisoners in this war; do you believe, that if no such war had existed, you would have been able to have acquired a greater number of Slaves at the same time?

A greater number I should have acquired, as well as other articles, particularly ivory and wax.

Have you any means of knowing from what distance the Slaves are brought from the interior parts of the country to the coast, where they are sold to the European traders?

From every information that I could get, they appeared to come from one hundred to four hundred miles distance; that I judged, by the time they were performing their journey.

Do you mean from their relation of the time spent upon their journey?

Yes.

In what manner did they explain to you, the quantity of time that had been occupied in their journey?

From the furthest parts they are generally about three months or moons, when they do not travel every day.

Have you any means of knowing whether there are not established marts for Slaves in different parts of the interior country of Africa?

There certainly are.

Are there any other articles of traffic which are brought down with the Slaves in the course of their conveyance from the interior country, and what are they?

I have seen small coffels; they are called a coffel, when there are twenty or thirty of them; I have seen them marching down, some with a large tooth of ivory upon their head, others perhaps with a cake of wax, others carrying the provisions for the rest.

Would that traffic in ivory and wax be lost, in case it was not

accompanied by the Slave trade; would it answer the cost of bringing those articles down the country, unless it was likewise accompanied by the profit arising from the Slave trade?

There are many large teeth of ivory brought down by the Slaves, which I think would not be brought down by free people.

Would it answer to them to bring those articles down, if they traded in those articles only?

I do not think it would.

Do you therefore think, that if the Slave trade were abolished, the trade in the other articles of commerce, gum, ivory, &c. from the interior parts of Africa, would cease?

I think it would lessen; there would not be so much ivory brought from the interior parts.

Have you made any observation upon the state of civilization in that part of Africa with which you have been acquainted?

From what I have seen, those who are upon the banks of the Gambia are in a better state of civilization than those in the inland towns.

Do you mean that the inhabitants on the Banks of the Gambia are improved, in consequence of their intercourse with the European merchants who reside there?

I think they are.

Do you know whether any attempts have been made to introduce the Christian religion among them, and with what success?

There have been some attempts by the Portuguese; but they never met with any success.

Have any attempts been made on the part of the natives of Great Britain?

None that I know of.

Has the Slave trade increased or diminished, upon the whole, since your first acquaintance with it?

It has decreased.

To what causes do you attribute that decrease?

I cannot tell any particular cause for its decreasing.

Is the country with which you are particularly acquainted more or less populous since the first period of your acquaintance with it?

The towns that I am acquainted with were more populous in 1789, than they were twenty years ago.

To what causes do you attribute that increase of population?

Whether it is from the trading part of the country coming to settle

settle there, on account of the Europeans visiting the river for the purpose of commerce, or from any other cause, I do not know; I attribute it to that.

Is the price of Slaves considerably increased since your first knowledge of the trade?

Very much so.

Do you know of any Slaves being obtained by fraud, or other violence, which have been brought to the markets to which British merchants resort?

I never knew of any procured in that manner; for if they were, they would be pursued from the interior parts, and traced down to the banks of the river, where they were sold; and the person who had done that, would be sold also.

How do you know that such pursuit and punishment would take place, you having said, that you never knew an instance of such a crime being committed?

When the natives of that country are guilty of less crimes, they will frequently run from the country they commit them in, and sit down in another kingdom, where they are pursued, and sometimes sold.

From that do you infer that the same punishment would probably follow the commission of a similar crime in this instance?

Certainly.

Have you any concern in the Slave trade at present?

I have.

Do you know whether the African owner of a Slave is liable to any, and what punishment for killing his Slave?

I do not know of any; I never knew an instance of that kind but once, and that was by a king.

Do you not know of any instance by an individual subject, of the murder of a Slave?

No; I do not.

Are they punishable for the abuse of their persons; for cruelty towards them?

I do not know of any punishment.

Do you know of any persons who have been proprietors of any very large number of Slaves in that country?

I do.

What number?

From forty to a hundred.

Were

Were the children of those Slaves born Slaves likewise ?

Yes.

And the property of the master ?

As to the children born there, the person that owns the mother always owns the child.

Have you ever observed any difference in the degree and condition of particular classes of Slaves in Africa ?

Yes; those that are good receive favours from their masters; those that are bad receive punishment.

Is there a distinction between house Slaves who are treated with more indulgence, and are not sold, but for faults committed by them, and other Slaves who are generally the object of sale ?

Those that are the object of sale must be sold; for if they were to be turned at large to work for their master, they would desert him.

Whether there is a distinction between Slaves that are commonly sold, and those who are hereditary Slaves, who pass from father to son, but are not the object of sale without they commit a crime ?

There are no such Slaves as those kept.

Have you been in any of the West India islands, so as to have an opportunity of comparing the treatment and condition of the African Slave in his own country when removed to those islands ?

I have not.

Was you ever in the West Indies ?

Twice.

In what part ?

In the island of Dominica.

Had you no means of seeing the treatment of the Slaves in that island ?

No, I had not, from the short stay I made.

Do you, from all that you have been able to judge, from the condition and treatment of Slaves in Africa, believe, that any material purpose of humanity would be answered by the abolition of that trade ?

From the treatment of those that are for sale by their masters when they are sold on board of ship, they change for the better.

Did you ever buy any Slaves under particular restrictions, not to be allowed to be ranomed ?

I have.

Have

Have you bought many in that situation?

I have bought several; but one in particular, that if I took any ransom, I was to pay the master five Slaves.

What was the reason why this Slave was under this singular predicament?

It had been for a crime that I was not acquainted with.

Had you ever any means of inquiring from the Slave the nature of the crime that he had committed?

I had not.

Have you, in the course of purchasing Slaves, ever inquired of them the reasons for which they have been sold to you?

I have inquired often; but they very seldom tell the crimes that they have committed.

Having specified that you bought Slaves under particular restrictions, state what would have become of those Slaves, suppose they had been ransomed?

Those Slaves that were sold under such restrictions, it was determined by their masters should not be ransomed, but that they should go off to the West Indies; therefore, what would have been the consequence if they had been ransomed, I cannot tell.

Did you perceive any particular satisfaction in those Slaves so circumstanced, different from any other Slaves that you purchased?

Certainly.

Greater or less mark of joy, at being sold?

Great mark of joy; particularly those who were sold in consequence of the war.

In the course of your purchase of Slaves, did you ever know an instance of a Slave expressing a wish to return to his native country?

I never did.

You have stated, in a former part of your evidence, that you have been twice in the West Indies: in what situation did you go there?

I went out to the West Indies in a vessel of my own.

You was captain of her?

No, I had a captain on board of her; I was supercargo.

Each time that you went to the West Indies?

Each time.

Were the Slaves, during these two voyages, treated with proper care and attention relative to their health?

That was my particular business on board.

What do you mean by that being your particular business on board?

To see that they were treated properly.

Do you mean that in every Slave ship there is a man that goes expressly for that purpose; or was it merely in your own vessel that you did it? Whether it is a general custom in the Slave trade?

It is not the custom; the master of the vessel was qualified to conduct the vessel, but not to take care of the Slaves.

How came the master of the vessel to be qualified to conduct the vessel, and not to be capable of conducting the Slaves?

Being in the vessel myself, I took that care upon me, to see that they were properly conducted; and as such, I employed a person who was not acquainted with the carrying of Slaves.

From the knowledge that you must consequently have of the method of carrying a Slave from Africa to the West Indies, do you not consider, that the mortality which arises in a ship on the Middle Passage is almost entirely owing to the Slaves being over-fed, and consequently to their being too quickly replenished, from the very famished and reduced state in which those Slaves are usually brought on board the ships on the coast?

I, from experience in the country, have sometimes bought Slaves that have been from a long journey, and from a scarcity of provisions, very lean; and when these Slaves come on board, they very often are seized with different disorders; whether from over-feeding them, or from a change of the provisions and water, I cannot say.

During the two voyages that you made, was there no mate on board the vessel?

There was.

Who had frequently made the Middle Passage?

There was a mate.

Did those mates ever make the remark to you that was made in the first part of the last question, relative to those people in a re-

duced state of body being brought on board; namely, that upon being over-fed they were subject to repletion, and to a particular disorder which men, when first brought on board a ship, generally are subject to?

I used to see the victuals taken down, and see them properly fed myself.

But did the mates, who were conversant in the business, ever make that remark to you?

In those two voyages that I went off with Slaves I was very fortunate.

You say, that you had a mate that had been bred in the trade, and who was a qualified man?

Yes.

Did that man never, in the course of conversation with you, say, that from the reduced state of those Slaves, they were frequently made ill by being over-fed when they were first brought on board?

The surgeon of the vessel has made these observations.

Did the Slaves during this passage appear to be happy, and content, and satisfied?

Yes, after they got a few days from their own country, and the sea-sickness over, they became more satisfied.

Upon their making the island of Dominica, which I suppose they must have known was their destination, did they particularly express any satisfaction at the voyage being concluded?

When we made the land, they were very glad at the sight of it, and wished to know whether they were to go on shore at that land.

The day of their sale did they express any pleasure at being landed or not?

Those that I carried off were reshipped in another vessel; therefore they had not an opportunity of rejoicing on going on shore to reside.

As you have mentioned that the Slaves were carried to the island of Dominica, whether it took place since or before the Regulating Act?

It was since the Regulating Act.

Did you ever make the Middle Passage previous to the Regulating Act?

Abelieve one voyage in 1789. I think the Regulating Act had not taken place.

You

You are mistaken in your date ?

The ship I sailed in had sailed out previous to the regulation here; she was not under the act.

The second voyage was subject to the regulation act ?
It was.

Was there a greater mortality in the first or in the second voyage ?
In the first voyage I buried three Slaves; in the latter voyage, one on the purchase, and one at sea.

Did you ever hear from the Slaves, during either of the voyages, any sort of complaint of ill treatment or neglect from the captain and the crew of the vessel ?

None at all; no complaint whatever.

Did you see any act of cruelty or neglect by any of that description of people towards their Slaves ?

I never did.

During the time you was resident in Africa, was mention ever made amongst the various commanders of Slave ships that must have been upon the coast, of particular people having been guilty of particular acts of cruelty towards any of those Slaves ?

I never heard of any towards the Slaves except upon insurrections, where we are obliged to use means for self-preservation.

Do you, from your knowledge of the trade, conceive, that if any particular act of cruelty had ever been committed by any captain or mate, that that particular person would not have been taken notice of by the other officers of the different ships in that trade, as a stigma upon the corps in general ?

They certainly would.

Whether the Slaves which are brought from the interior parts of Africa to the coast, are or are not brought down under a guard ?

They are brought down under a guard; they are overlooked by their masters; their masters are their guard.

Suppose a lot of twenty to be brought down, how many people are there to guard them ?

I have known instances of a lot of twenty Slaves, where there perhaps have been more than twenty masters.

Have you, during your residence on the coast of Africa, ever heard of any merchant ship belonging to any European power being attempted to be cut off, or that was cut off, by the natives for attempting to kidnap Slaves ?

I never knew of any vessels being cut off in Gambia river in the act of kidnapping Slaves.

Did you ever hear of any foreign vessel that was attempted to be cut off, or that was cut off on that account, or of any English vessel?

No, there was none cut off.

Were they ever attempted to be cut off?

No, they never were attempted to be cut off for kidnapping.

Do you know of any ship either foreign or English, that was by any insurrection on board of her, cut off by the Slaves?

Yes.

Instance it.

There was the Good Intent of Liverpool.

In what year?

In the year 1787.

On what part of the coast?

In the river Gambia.

Did the Slaves rise upon the crew?

The Slaves rose upon the ship's company.

Was that owing to any particular ill treatment?

Not that I know of.

Was that ship completing her cargo at the time?

She had seventy Slaves on board; she came for one hundred and twenty.

Was the denomination of Slaves on board of that ship, what are called Long-shore Men, or were they from the interior parts of the country?

The denomination of the different Slaves on board that vessel was from different parts.

Was that ship cut off?

She was cut off.

What became of the Slaves?

They were resold, a great number of them, by the king of the country where she was cut off.

Did you ever see any of those Slaves?

I believe that I carried some of them off.

How did they behave with you?

They

They behaved very well with me.

Did they ever give any reason to you, or to any of your people, why they cut off that ship?

From what I could learn from them, it was owing to the carelessness of the ship's company in suffering them to get possession of the arms.

Is there, or is there not, a difference between the disposition of the Slave denominated a Long-Shore Man, and the Slave that is brought from the interior parts of the country?

I cannot make any observation upon the difference of those from the interior parts, and those that come from the banks of the river.

You spoke of courts of justice in those parts of Africa in which you have resided, among the natives; whether you are well informed of the mode of proceeding in such courts of justice?

Those courts of justice are held out in the open field under a tree; the people all attend; the elders attend to hear both sides, and they judge accordingly.

What are the crimes which are usually punished with condemnation to Slavery?

Adultery, theft, and various other crimes.

What is the lowest species of crime so punished?

Theft.

Pilfering?

Yes.

What other punishments are in use?

Adultery is punished with the sale of the person, if he is free; if he redeems himself from the master of the country, he pays in proportion to his circumstances.

What other punishments are there in use besides that of condemnation to Slavery?

I have known them banished out of the country in which they commit the crime, to another free people; they are not to come and sit on the ground where they have committed the crime.

Is their condition in that banishment Slavery?

I cannot say that it is.

Is not Slavery much more frequent than any other punishment? It certainly is.

You spoke of a freeman that you once bought, who expressed a
3 A great

great desire to embrace the condition of Slavery ; under what right was the freeman sold ?

He was a captive in war.

Did he explain whence the danger arose that threatened him if he was unfold ?

He did.

What was it ?

That if he was not sold, but was returned to the place from whence he was brought, he should be murdered, as they had done to others two or three mornings before.

You said, that the wars were a great check to the Slave trade ; are not the captives in those wars on both sides sold ?

Not all ; a very few are sold.

You bought eleven out of one hundred and twenty ; do you know what became of the rest ?

Some were sacrificed, others might be redeemed. The nature of those wars is, that when they are taken, if free, they redeem themselves according to their circumstances ; but if they have been very active, and been at the head of the dispute, they very often sacrifice them, and will not sell them at all.

Is it a punishment for crimes that the Slaves of African masters, of the natives, are sold to European traders ?

Many have been sold, that have come within my knowledge, for crimes.

Selling to the European trader is a punishment for crimes ?

It is.

You spoke of the Slaves of African owners whom you called objects of sale ; what is that condition ?

Those are Slaves brought down by merchants who travel into the interior parts of Africa, and through different countries (as I understood from them), to buy up those persons who have been guilty of crimes against the states of the different places : different merchants join together in the course of a season, and bring down those convicts from the interior parts in large quantities together, which they call coffells. Those that are brought down are the description of Slaves that I expressed to be allotted for sale to the ships.

Do you know what sort of punishments are inflicted upon Slaves by the African owners in their own country ?

I have seen punishment given to a Slave.

What sort of punishments ?

Very simple ; for if they were to punish them severely, they then would desert, and go to another country.

Have you seen punishments there equally severe with the punishments in the West Indies ?

Punishments in the West Indies, I never saw any.

What became of the crew of that ship that was cut off ?

The crew of that ship, I believe, were all murdered, except one ; I am not certain whether there was not one, a boy, who escaped.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

M I N U T E S
OF THE
E V I D E N C E

TAKEN AT

The Bar of the House of Lords,

UPON THE

Order made for taking into Consideration the present State of the Trade to' AFRICA, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also for taking into Consideration the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade; and the general State and Condition of the WEST INDIA Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the WEST INDIA Colonies to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House, in Support of their Petition against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

1793.

MINUTES, &c.

Die Mercurii, 17^o Aprilis 1793.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking further into Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade, and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the West India Colonies to be heard, by their Counsel, in support of their Petition against the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Slave Trade.

The Counsel were called in. Then RICHARD MILES, Esq. was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Whether you have resided in Africa?

I have several years.

For what length of time?

Near eighteen years.

When did you first begin to reside there, and when did you cease to reside there; what period of time do the eighteen years you mention comprehend?

I went to Africa in the year 1765 to reside there, and left it in the year 1784?

In what part of Africa have you resided?

Upon the Gold Coast.

Have you been in any other parts of Africa besides the Gold Coast?

I have been in other parts of Africa, but my stay was so short that I had no opportunity to make any observations as to any other part except the Gold Coast.

What are the limits of that country which you call the Gold Coast?

It is generally understood from Cape La Hoo to the River Volta.

What extent of country does that comprehend?

I cannot speak positively; I apprehend about four hundred miles east and west, nearly so.

Is your knowledge confined principally to the sea coast, or have you been any way inland?

I have very seldom been above three or four miles inland, except on one occasion that I might be eighteen or twenty miles up the country.

What was your situation upon the Gold Coast during your residence there; state your different situations?

I was in the service of the African Committee the whole time.

In what situation when you first went there? State the different situations you filled upon the Gold Coast?

The first three or four years I resided at Cape Coast Castle as a writer, factor, and store-keeper. In 1769 I was appointed to the command of the Fort. In 1774 I had a seat in the Council; and in 1777 I succeeded to the chief command.

Did the situations which you filled enable you to acquire any knowledge of the habits and customs of the country?

Having at different times commanded almost every fort in that country, and consequently having the natives settled under these forts under my command, I had frequent intercourse with them.

Did the condition of Slavery exist in every part of the Coast with which you were acquainted?

Beyond all doubt.

Was you acquainted with the language that was talked by the natives in that part of the country?

Yes; and spoke it as fluently as most Europeans, I believe, who ever were in that country.

Had you, from your intercourse with the natives in that country, any means of knowing whether the condition of Slavery was of very ancient establishment in that country, or of recent introduction?

I can only answer that question from the general observations that I made. I found them in the habit of Slavery, and I left them in it. That it is not an institution merely for the purpose of supplying the European demand, I think is very clear from the many thousands that are held in Slavery in that country.

Are you to be understood then to say, that the number of Slaves in that country is very considerably greater than is necessary to meet the demands of the West India export?

I do not think myself competent to answer that question. I cannot say how far the demand for the West Indies may go.

You have stated, that from the number of persons in that condition you have inferred, that it was very general in that country?

Clearly. Every man of note or of consequence in that country measures his wealth, not by gold or by any other funds, which are merely secondary considerations with them, but by the number of Slaves they have.

Can you furnish the House with any estimate of the proportion which the free people in that country bear to the Slaves?

I have never heard of any calculations made in that country of the population; and therefore any opinion of my own would be mere matter of opinion, and therefore not of sufficient authority for me to advance any thing positive upon the subject.

Do you know in what manner, and from what causes, persons become Slaves in that country?

There are certain crimes which subject them to Slavery in that country; such as theft, adultery; for debt also they are sold, if their friends cannot, or will not redeem them: and there are a small proportion, I believe, it is matter of opinion, also sold for witchcraft.

Can you ascertain whether there are more persons who become Slaves on account of debt, or on account of the commission of crimes?

I cannot speak positively to that point; it must be mere matter of opinion.

But you have stated, that it is usual for persons to become Slaves for debt. Are you to be understood to say, that they are taken in execution for those debts; or, that they sell themselves to satisfy the debt; or is it the sentence of a Court of Law in a civil suit?

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In most towns or villages that I have been in, there are certain elders of the town, called Pynins or Judges. The parties offending, for adultery, theft, or debt, are taken before these elders, where they have, as far as my observation has gone, as fair a hearing as in any Court of Justice in England.

You are speaking of trials in criminal cases; say, whether in civil cases, a person who is otherwise unable to satisfy his creditor, becomes the Slave of his creditor?

If his debt exceeds the ordinary value of a Slave, he is adjudged the Slave of his creditor.

Do you mean, if he is otherwise unable to satisfy the debt?

I have before said, that his friends are at liberty to redeem him if they please, and have the means.

Is the condition of Slavery merely personal, or are the children of Slaves also Slaves?

Children born in Slavery are Slaves to the master or mistress of the mother so bearing those children.

Both male and female children?

Both male and female children.

Are females liable to forfeit their freedom for the same causes that males are, either by sentence in civil or criminal cases?

I understand it to be so.

Do you know of any instance of what has been mentioned, of breaking up villages, or of kidnapping, or of other violent means used for the purpose of obtaining Slaves, and that either by Europeans or Natives?

I do not recollect ever to have heard of a single instance of the kind. I have, I believe, heard of one or two single instances, where a master of a ship has carried a Free Man off the coast; but I believe in one, or both of those cases, the delinquent was punished by the laws of this country.

But of your own knowledge you are acquainted with no instance of such violence?

None whatsoever; as to kidnapping, it is tantamount to an impossibility that it should be practised.

Why so?

Because the Natives along the sea coast have one general language; and if any man was seized unlawfully in any town or

village

village along that sea coast, it must be for the purpose of his being sold to an European ; and he would no sooner be in the hands of that European, than from the opportunities he has of seeing the Black brokers, who speak English generally as well as their own tongue, he would naturally tell his situation to them.

Would such communication of his situation be likely to procure the party any redress ?

Such a case never having happened within my knowledge, I can only guess what the result would be ; but I have no doubt that the Black broker would immediately apply to the family of this man, and that justice by some means or other would be done to him.

Are wars frequent in that part of the country with which you have been acquainted ?

By no means.

Have the wars which have happened during the time you have been in that country, been the means of producing a larger or a less plentiful supply of Slaves for the European market ?

There may be wars of magnitude in the interior parts of the country, but near the water side the country is chiefly divided into small petty states, and where two quarrel, the dispute is generally made up by the interference of a third party ; and I have generally understood upon most of these occasions, such prisoners as have been taken are exchanged.

Do wars therefore in your judgment produce any considerable supply of Slaves for the purpose of the West India islands ?

I have generally understood it to have a contrary effect ; and I believe I can quote a single instance, and that is the only war that I do remember, of any magnitude.

What was the effect of that war ?

It was in the year 1765 or 1766 :—the Fantee and the Shantee nations were at war for a considerable time ; the object of the war was generally understood to be, that the Shantees, who are a very large powerful inland nation, were not satisfied in receiving the European commodities through the water side brokers ; and therefore wished to possess a part of the sea coast themselves ;—during this war I well remember that the ships lay some of them twice the time in their purchases that they do on other occasions.

Has the number of Slaves sold to Europeans increased or diminished within your memory ?

It is between nine and ten years since I left that country.
During

During the time I was there, the number was some years more, and some less; but generally speaking, I believe, nearly the same.

Do you know the number of Slaves that have been annually sold upon that part of the Coast with which you was acquainted, for the European settlements in the West Indies?

The Gold Coast, I believe, furnishes six, seven, or eight thousand annually.

Has the price of these Slaves increased or diminished within your memory?

Very considerably increased.

Can you state in what proportion?

I suppose at the present moment nearly double.

Has the population in Africa increased or diminished in that part of the Coast with which you have been acquainted, within the period of your memory?

I am pretty certain that it has not decreased; generally speaking, I should suppose the contrary.

Have the Natives of Africa been more or less civilized within the period of time that you have been acquainted with the Gold Coast?

They were much the same during the time I resided among them. The water-side Blacks were in the constant habits of intercourse with the Europeans, and certainly acquired some degree of civilization.

Have you had an opportunity of comparing the condition of the Negro Slave in Africa, with the condition of the same person in the West India Islands?

I have been in some of the West India Islands, and I have with vast pleasure observed a very great difference.

In what particulars?

In the West Indies they appear to be comfortably cloathed, well fed, and appear to have no wants. They are, I understand, protected in their lives by the laws of the Islands.—In Africa, the reverse is the case, their lives are subject to the will of their masters.

Is their property more protected in the one place than in the other?

I am not so competent to speak as to the property, because I was never any great length of time in the West India islands.

Do you know whether a Slave in Africa is permitted to acquire property ?

There are two distinct sorts of Slaves in Africa :—The domestic Slave, so born or naturalized ; and the Slave that is intended for sale : the house, or domestic Slave, does certainly acquire property.

Do they appear to be happier in one country than in the other ; and in which country did they appear to you to be most happy ; in the West Indies, or in Africa ?

Does the question mean, Whether the Slaves that are sold appear to be happier in Africa, or in the West Indies ?

Is the Slave, who is the subject of sale, happier in Africa, or in the West Indies, according to your observation ?

The Slave for sale in Africa, I believe, nine times out of ten—his happiness is, in being transferred from a Black master to a White.

It need hardly be asked then whether they are treated with more humanity by the White master, than by the Black master ?

That I cannot speak so pointedly to. I should suppose it was the interest of both Black and White masters to treat them well : but for the reason that I have just now stated, that he was not sure of his life for a moment.

Have you ever been present at, or had an opportunity of knowing, whether Slaves are sacrificed to the memory of deceased persons, or in honour of deceased persons ?

From understanding their language, I had an opportunity of knowing that such practice is very general—but I have seen the practice.

Upon what occasion ; and what number of victims were sacrificed upon that occasion ?

Upon the death of any great man—not upon his death, I should say, upon his funeral ; for they are very often not buried for months after they die ; the funeral rites are not observed till months afterwards : the more consequence a man is of, the greater, as I have generally understood, is the number of sacrifices made.

What number have you known to have been sacrificed at any one time, in honour of any deceased person ?

When I say the number I have known, I must confine myself to the number I saw, which might be five, or six, or eight.

C

Those

Those you actually saw sacrificed upon an occasion of the sort you have mentioned?

Yes; it was upon the funeral of one of the greatest Black Men I knew in that country. The person who succeeded him had been in my service for several years, and spoke the English language well. When this ceremony took place, I used every entreaty in my power, every threat that I dared to use, to prevent so horrid a custom. But all the answer I could obtain was, "We will not hurt you: it shall not be done in your presence; but when so great a man is dead, a great many must go with him." Nor have I any doubt but a great many did go upon that occasion. The number I have just now mentioned to have seen sacrificed, I saw from the walls of the castle where I commanded, with my spy glass, and I sent out Slaves myself the next day to bury those bodies.

Were other sacrifices, besides the one which you saw, made in honour of the same deceased person?

Upon the occasion of the death of any great man, previous to the funeral rites being observed, his immediate successor sends messages to all the petty Princes, or other men of consequence, many miles round the country, informing them that on such a day such a man's funeral rites will be observed: each person so sent to, sends messengers of their own, accompanied some with a sheep, some with a goat, some with a cow; but men of any note or consequence send one, two, or more Slaves.

Are the Slaves sacrificed upon these occasions, persons who have been made Slaves for crimes, or prisoners taken in war; or are they also persons who are Slaves in their hereditary condition by birth?

I can only answer that question as matter of opinion of my own. I have no doubt before their intercourse with Europeans was so general, that they sacrificed young or old indiscriminately; but I have very great reason to believe, that generally speaking, they are old and useless Slaves that are now sacrificed in that manner.

The Question was repeated.

That is impossible for me to say. If it is meant to ask whether I have ever known an instance of a domestick Slave being killed, I answer in the affirmative; I have.

You have stated, that you believe in consequence of the Slave Trade that the old and useless Slaves are made the sacrifices upon these occasions instead of the young and more vigorous; do you like-
6
wife

wife believe that the Slave Trade has in any manner diminished the number of the persons sacrificed upon these occasions?

I have no doubt that avarice has in some degree got the better of their customs, and that they do not sacrifice so many now as when they had no vent for the sale.

Then are you to be understood that many who would otherwise be sacrificed in the manner you have stated, are saved from death by a vent being opened for those Slaves in the West India trade?

I have answered that question in the preceding one. It is matter of opinion only in me:—that is my opinion.

Have you had any opportunity of knowing whether the lands in Africa can be cultivated by free labour?

It would be a very hazardous enterprize in my mind—I apprehend the question means, whether the land could be cultivated by Europeans.

No. If there were not Slaves, could the Natives or Europeans in Africa hire persons for the purpose of making plantations and settlements in that country:—could agriculture be carried on by free labour?

It is impossible for me to say positively that they could not be cultivated by free labour: but Europeans, admitting the lands were cultivated, would have no security for their property.

What would become of the Slaves in Africa, supposing the trade in Slaves in Africa were immediately to be abolished?

That must be matter of opinion; never having seen the country in that situation, it is impossible to say. At this moment it strikes me, that their laws would be more sanguinary.

What is the greatest number in the whole that you have ever heard were sacrificed upon the part of the coast with which you are acquainted in honour of any deceased person, or on occasion of the funeral of any deceased person?

I have had no information that will justify my mentioning any number. The natives upon these occasions often boast of having sacrificed much larger numbers probably, than really has been the case.

Then you can give no precise answer to that question?
It is impossible.

What is the greatest number you have ever heard?

Very

Very great numbers. I have just stated that the Natives make their boast of more perhaps than really are sacrificed.

Examined by the Lords.

You have said that the son and successor of one of the greatest Black men you ever knew in that country was in your service; do you mean that he was a menial servant to whom you paid wages?

Pardon me, I did not say the son, but the successor. The person I alluded to, lived with me in the character of a superior servant, a kind of broker, to whom I paid monthly wages.—To account for this it is only necessary to state, that most great men in that country, still confining myself to the water side, pride themselves in having their friends and relatives to live with White men, who are in some superior condition in that country.

What do you mean by his being the successor of that Black man: successor by election, or by what means successor?

It is generally the eldest male branch in the female line that succeeds. There are some few exceptions, but generally speaking, upon the Gold Coast it is as I have stated.

Was that person to whom he succeeded, one of the persons they call Kings, in that country?

By courtesy many of them have acquired that title.

Was that particular man?

His common title is, Cabboccer of that coast.

You talked of persons who were tried, being taken before the elders; are persons tried for witchcraft taken before the elders?

As far as my knowledge goes, the Europeans upon the Gold Coast know very little of the form of trial for witchcraft. It generally takes place in the night.

You stated merely as a matter of opinion, the different classes of Free men and Slaves on the Gold Coast; in your opinion, as far as you are a judge, from a residence of nineteen years, Whether there is a greater proportion of Free men or of Slaves, on that particular part of the coast where you lived?

I have already observed, that I have never heard in that country any calculations whatsoever upon population.

But from your common observation?

But

But as far as my opinion goes, the number of Free men must very far exceed the number of Slaves sold—very far indeed.

The question is, Whether upon the Gold Coast where you resided, you conceive there to be a greater proportion of Free men than of Slaves, existing in the country? Whether Slavery is more predominant than Freedom, on the Gold Coast?

The number of domestic or house Slaves, is certainly very great; but it is difficult to ascertain exactly the number of Free men in one family: but beyond all doubt the number of Slaves kept by a Free man of any note or consequence, exceeds the Free men in his Family.

You have stated a distinction in Slavery in that country; one a natural born Slave, and the other a Slave made for various causes. Have you known an instance of a natural born Slave having been brought to the European market, as well as a Slave who was made so?

A Slave so born or naturalized is incorporated as it were in the man's family to whom he belongs: and in cases of misbehaviour, it is the rest of the Slaves that belong to that family who decide upon his fate.

Is the natural born Slave treated in a different manner from the other Slave? Whether the treatment of the two distinctions of Slaves is the same, or is there any difference in their treatment?

The treatment of the domestic Slaves, generally speaking, is very good; the others, the Slaves for sale, we see little of their treatment, and can judge only of the condition they are in when they are brought for sale.

During your residence upon the Gold Coast, have you had any opportunity of seeing in a Black family the other sort of Slave; the Slave that is made so by the laws of that country, and how he is treated in a Black family?

I believe they are very rarely taken into the family at all. Upon a man becoming a Slave to another, under any of the forfeitures I have just now stated, the proprietor of that Slave is at liberty, if he pleases, to incorporate him, as it were, with the rest of his Slaves; and after having become a domestic Slave in this way, he enjoys all the privileges the same as though he had been born a domestic Slave. But the Slave who has forfeited his liberty, nine times out of ten, is sold immediately.

D

During

During the course of the nineteen years that you was upon the Gold Coast, did you ever know of a long period of time having elapsed, between ships sailing from the coast, and ships arriving on the coast; or were there European ships always on the coast, or so near as to be able by their boats to carry their Slaves to them?

In times of peace there are almost always ships resorting to that coast; but I have known, in the course of last war, that there has been no shipping upon the coast for a small period of time.

For how long?

About six weeks or two months, not more. I do not think I ever saw the coast without shipping a greater period than that: I beg leave to confine myself to English shipping.

During the time that the coast has been clear of shipping, what was done by the Free Blacks with those Slaves who had forfeited their liberty by the laws of that country?

In the absence of shipping, or in a scarcity of shipping, the European traders on shore are, generally speaking, more choice in the purchase of their Negroes; consequently, in such times, a larger proportion go back to the Natives as refuse Slaves. I have already stated what is most probably the fate of such refuse Slaves.

Do you mean that the Slaves intended for European purchase, are brought down the country, or whether they are collected along the shore?

I have stated that the Gold Coast affords annually from six to seven or eight thousand: about one fourth of these are, what we call water-side Blacks; the others come from the interior parts.

When those Slaves arrive from the interior parts, are they in a good or bad state of health?

They are, generally speaking, in a very meagre state.

You have stated that you was very well versed in the Negro language, or at least as well as most Europeans are; have you conversed with those Slaves immediately upon their being brought down upon the Coast?

The language of the interior Slaves differ so very widely from the water-side language, that I never remember to have met with an interior Slave that I could converse with?

You stated that witchcraft was one of the causes for which the Slave

Slave forfeited his liberty ; have you any knowledge of what that crime of witchcraft consists ?

I have already observed, that the trial for witchcraft generally, I believe always, takes place in the night; and the first we hear of it is by our Black servants, or some of our domestics who reside in the town, and who in the morning inform us, that such a trial has taken place; probably two, three, four, or more of the family are sold; generally, I believe, one or more are sacrificed. If a man, or woman, or child dies suddenly, and the friends of that family cannot account for such death, it is imputed to some one or other in the town; probably to some family that may have been known to be on bad terms with the deceased;—but this is merely matter of surmise.

Did you ever know of any person or persons being made Slaves for having given medicines to any person who was ailing?

No; I do not remember that such a case has come within my knowledge.

You do not know that administering of medicines is considered as one of the crimes of witchcraft?

I have already stated my idea upon which they found the charge.

Do you, or do you not, know?

I do not know that persons are charged with witchcraft for having administered any thing in that way.

You stated that one reason why the Slaves in the West Indies were so much happier than even the natural Slaves in the coast of Africa, was, because the master in Africa had the power of life and death over his Slave; did you ever know any instance or instances of the lives of Slaves having been taken away by their masters or mistresses?

I have known one or two instances of it;—two I can speak pointedly to, no doubt there may be many.

But it is an understood custom, that the master has a power over the life of his Slave?

Yes.

You stated that, if any Free person was employed upon culture on the coast of Africa, he was liable to have his property taken away; Why was his property liable to be taken away?

I believe my answer to that question was, that I could not speak

so decidedly as to what might be the situation of the Black man's property in such a case ; but that a White man's property would have no security.

Have you ever been from the coast of Africa, to the West Indies ?

I have.

How many times ?

Twice.

In Slave ships, or not ?

Both times in Slave ships.

Were the Slaves properly fed on board of those ships ?

As far as my observation went, and I had some Slaves of my own on board both of the ships, every attention was shewn to them, that the situation of so many in one ship would admit of.

Were the provisions with which the Slaves were fed country provisions, or provisions brought from this country for the purpose, or both ?

Partly both.

Was every attention paid to the health of the Slaves in the two voyages ?

The great number on board, particularly on board one of the ships, and the very small number we buried, best answers that question.

How many were there in the first voyage ?

The first voyage was a ship of three hundred tons, and better ; but she went out merely with stores for the use of the Forts.

In what year ? —

In 1772 ; and not having a regular cargo on board for a purchase, she carried no Slaves but such as she could get on Freight, which I believe might be 140, 150, or 160. The last ship I came off in was about 220 or 230 tons. We had 530 or 540 living souls on board.

Including Whites—including the English Sailors ?

Yes. I am within compass ; and I believe the outside of our mortality was six, seven, or eight.

In how long a voyage ?

In an uncommonly long passage.

Do you recollect how long?

I do not know whether we were not nine weeks. I cannot speak positively, but I remember that it was a very long passage.

Did you see any act of cruelty committed by any officer, or man, or sailor, in either of these two voyages, towards any description of Slave on board,—man, woman, or child?

The captain, and most of the officers, have an emolument from the Slaves they carry; and therefore it is their interest to treat them well.

Do you, in your long course of residence upon the coast, know of any instance of impropriety in the method of the Slaves being carried from the shore to the ship; such as any great surf running at the time, so that their lives might be in danger?

The surf, or landing places, in fact, all along the Gold Coast, are at times very bad; but no man would be mad enough to send his Slaves off in a bad sea, seeing his interest is so immediately at stake.

Did you remain long in the West Indies either time?

I believe I might be about six or seven weeks there, each time.

What islands were you in?

The islands of Barbadoes, Nevis, and St. Kitts.

Did you ride about the country much, during the time you was in the West Indies?

Not a great deal. I was at several different estates.

Did the Slaves in the West Indies appear to you to be happy in their situation there, as far as your time admitted of your seeing?

I have been in the West Indies at Easter, which is, I believe, the time that the Negroes have a few days holidays; and I have, with very great pleasure, observed how very happy and how very comfortable they were.

Talking of criminal trials in Africa, you have said, if rightly understood, that these trials are conducted as fairly as in any Court of Justice in England. Whether the evidence of any Black Man is or is not rejected in any of these trials, if a White Man is concerned?

I never knew an instance of a Black Man's evidence being rejected upon these occasions.

E

Whether

Whether you are, at this time, at all concerned in the African Trade?

I am.

Have you property in the West Indies?

I have not; at least it is so trifling as not to deserve the name.

But you are not totally uninterested in the continuance of the Slave Trade?

By no means.

You said, that in that part of Africa where you had resided, every man of consequence measures his wealth by the number of his Slaves, or to that effect?

I did.

Did you mean, that the measure of his wealth was the number of house Slaves, or of the saleable Slaves?

In calculating upon his wealth, he no doubt includes both.

Which do you conceive make the greatest part of his wealth, speaking of the ordinary measure of wealth in that country?

I should suppose, the number of house Slaves that he has, certainly form the greater part; because the Slaves for purchase pass from hand to hand: he sells them immediately.

The house Slaves are only saleable in the country for crimes or for debt?

The house Slaves have this advantage over other Slaves, that they are never sold before they have had a fair hearing, and before the rest of the house Slaves have determined that they are wrong and should be sold.

That supposes a crime?

In other words, a man in that country who has property that he succeeds to, cannot sell that property, except in cases of misbehaviour; and that is generally fully cleared to the satisfaction of the rest of the Slaves. Slaves that he purchases he sells at his pleasure.

What do you think, from your own observation, of the comparative condition of the house Slaves in Africa, and the Negro Slaves in the West Indies?

The house Slaves in Africa certainly enjoy many advantages; one particular one I have just now stated; but still the Slaves in the West Indies have clearly a superiority over any distinction of Slaves

Slaves whatever upon the Coast of Africa; because, in the West Indies, their lives are secure to them; but, in Africa, even the house Slaves do not know that their lives are safe.

When you speak of the security of life, you mean security by law—legal security?

In the West Indies, I apprehend, the law secures their lives to them.

Did you ever know an instance in which the master of a Slave in the West India islands was brought to punishment for the murder of his Slave?

I have never known an instance of such a murder; it has not come within my knowledge: I have been but a short time in the West Indies, as I have already stated.

The life of an African Slave, you are to be understood then to say, is entirely at the will of his master?

In speaking of the lives of the domestic Slaves, I have already observed, that a domestic Slave that has been inherited cannot even be sold without the concurrence of his fellow Slaves; and, the master having no power to sell that Slave, it should follow of course, that he has no power over his life: but whenever that master dies, none of them know then who are to suffer.

You mean, in sacrifice?

In sacrifice, clearly.

Do you imagine, or know, that the life of a Slave in the West Indies cannot be taken away, without the concurrence of the other Slaves upon that plantation?

I have had no opportunity of knowing any such thing;—in speaking of the West Indies, I have already said I had very little opportunity of knowing much of the practice in the West Indies: but I have generally understood, and I believe it to be the fact, that the lives of the Slaves are secured to them, unless forfeited by the laws of the country.

But you believe that, with little knowledge of the law or the practice?

I believe it, at the same time that I confess, that I have not a very thorough knowledge of the West India laws.

You have spoken of the great perfection in which justice is administered in that part of the Coast of Africa where you resided—Do you know by what mode of trial persons accused of witchcraft are convicted?

I have

I have already said this day, that we know nothing of it but from report.

When such convicts first come into the possession of the Slave merchant, are there any marks upon any part of their persons? Does the question mean marks of ill usage?

Marks of torture of any kind?

None that I have ever observed; but the circumstance of Slaves being sold for witchcraft occurs so rarely, that very seldom we have the opportunity of making the observation at all.

In your long residence on the Coast of Africa you have seen various instances?

Not a great many.

Do you know when a person is condemned for witchcraft, what becomes of his family?

I believe I have already stated, that one or more of the family are sacrificed, and that the rest, meaning the junior branches of the family, are sold.

His wife and children, you mean?

The various branches of the family.

Does it go then to the collateral relations?

I cannot speak so decidedly as to that, but I believe they are all considered as contaminated with the crime, more or less.

In what circumstances does the condition of the house Slaves in Africa differ from that of their Masters?

The exact difference between a Master and a Slave.

Is their diet different?

I was not in the habit of dieting with them.

You know not then of what articles the diet of either Master or Slaves consists?

It is the duty of house Slaves of every description, males and females, young and old, to wait upon their master; one cooks for him, another fishes for him, another hunts for him.

What makes it so difficult to distinguish the Free man from the Slave?

From the same reason, that if I saw two Blacks walking the streets at this moment, the one might be a Free man the other a Slave; I could not distinguish them.

You can distinguish the difference between a gentleman and his servant in this country?

Certainly it is easy to distinguish between a gentleman and his servant in this country; but it is not very easy, seeing a parcel of Negroes on the Coast of Africa, all clothed alike, to distinguish the one from the other.

They are all clothed alike then?

Nearly so, except upon extraordinary occasions, when the master thinks it necessary to shew himself in all his grandeur.

Do you conceive that the house Slave in Africa is much worse lodged than his master?

I believe, generally speaking, with some few exceptions, the master lies upon a mat, and so does the man.

Does not the master usually take part in that labour in which he employs his Slave?

If I understand the question right, that the master goes into the field and works with the Slave, it is not so. I have already observed that the Slaves are employed in various offices.

The master then does not take part in the labour of the field in Africa?

Most clearly not: most decidedly not.

You spoke of different services that the Slave performs, do not the wife and children of the master take part in those same services?

The masters in that country have one, two, three, or more wives, according to their situations:—There are some few instances where one is favoured; but, generally speaking, the wives are mere Slaves to their husbands.

Is it a common thing in the West Indies for the Negro Slave to bear the mark of the whip upon his person?

I have already said I know very little of the West Indies:—What I did see of them was, that they were comfortable and happy, much beyond what I could have thought was the case if I had not seen them.

Then you never did observe their persons marked with the whip?

I do not know that I could take upon myself positively to say, that I did or that I did not; but certain I am, generally speaking, that they were comfortable and happy.

You cannot recollect, whether you ever saw the mark of the whip or no?

I have answered that question by saying—I do not recollect that I ever did.

Is severity of corporal punishment exercised upon the house Slaves in Africa?

I do not know that I had many opportunities of observing it.

Could it have been commonly done, during your long residence in Africa, without falling under your observation?

I resided in the different forts upon the coast; I had no intercourse with the natives in their own towns or villages, unless perchance I have taken a walk through the different towns.

You represented, that you exerted yourself very much, and very laudably, by persuasion and by threats, to prevent the horrid business of the sacrifice to which you was a witness; but that neither your persuasion nor your threats were of any avail.—Do not you think that you could have bought the victims off?

Their weight in gold, I am perfectly satisfied, would not have bought them off. The very person I mentioned just now, who was so long in my service, died, as I myself understand, about two or three years ago. There is a gentleman now in the House, I believe, who saw similar victims at his funeral.

You therefore conceive that the superstition of the natives is a principle which greatly over-rules their avarice?

I said but a very little while ago, that their avarice got the better of their prejudices, in some little degree.

Therefore it is a difficulty, if it be true that their avarice has the ascendancy over their superstition and prejudices, how it can be, that the weight of a man in gold would not buy him off?

Their avarice may in some degree get the better of the superstitious customs they have; by probably placing old and useless Slaves, who would produce little or nothing, as the victims, in place of healthy ones who would have been sacrificed.

Can you say whether the victims whom you saw sacrificed were old and useless Slaves?

I can clearly say that they were very indifferent ones.

You said, in the course of your evidence, that the practice of kidnapping was nearly an impossibility?

I did so.

You

You mean to confine that impossibility to the water-side ?

I believe I said so—I could not speak of a country I have never seen.

You are wished to be understood distinctly ; that one thing which renders this practice of kidnapping so exceedingly difficult is, that the Slaves who have been caught in that manner would naturally represent their case to the Black traders, to the English Slave merchant, who would to be sure, from the justice of the English Slave merchant, immediately procure the release of the person so ensnared ?

I do not mean to infer any thing of the kind.

Then the following Questions, before put to the Witnesses, and his Answers to the same, were read by the Clerk ; viz.

“ Do you know of any instance of what has been mentioned, of breaking up of villages, or of kidnapping, or of other violent means used for the purpose of obtaining Slaves ; and that either by Europeans, or Natives ?

I do not recollect ever to have heard of a single instance of the kind ;—I have I believe heard of one or two single instances where a master of a ship has carried a Free man off the coast ; but, I believe, in one or both those cases, the delinquent was punished by the laws of this country.

But of your own knowledge, you are acquainted with no instance of such violence ?

None whatsoever ; as to kidnapping it is tantamount to an impossibility that it should be practised.

Why so ?

Because the Natives along the sea coast have one general language ; and if any man was seized unlawfully in any town or village along the sea coast, it must be for the purpose of his being sold to an European ; and he would no sooner be in the hands of that European, than, from the opportunities he has of seeing the Black brokers, who speak English generally as well as their own tongue, he would naturally tell his situation to them.

Would such communication of his situation be likely to procure the party any redress ?

Such a case never having happened within my knowledge, I can only guess what the result would be : but I have no doubt that

that the Black Broker would immediately apply to the family of this man, and that justice by some means or other would be done to him."

The Witness said,

I beg to have it understood, my answer there is, Without the interference of the Europeans at all. The Slave, in such case, would most likely meet with redress from the representation of the Black broker, without any interference on the part of the European.

The Witness was asked,

Whether Slaves, once in the hands of the European Slave merchant, are allowed opportunities of free conversation with the Black brokers?

I believe invariably they have.

You are understood to say, you have made two voyages from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. What is the diet of the Slaves upon the Middle Passage?

Never expecting to be questioned upon that point, I do not know that my observations were such as I should otherwise have made. But I do know very well, from being concerned in that trade, the provisions they are generally fed with; and that depends entirely upon what part of the coast they are carried from: For instance, on the Windward Coast they have a large proportion of rice; upon the Gold Coast, a large proportion of corn; and to leeward they are chiefly fed upon yams, a vegetable that grows in that country. When I say "to leeward," I mean Bonny.

What is their daily allowance of water a man?

I really cannot take upon myself to say. Captains of ships, and such no doubt there are, could speak better to that point than I can; but I should suppose the quantity is regulated in some degree by the appearance of a long or short passage.

You therefore know little or nothing, from your own observation, of the treatment of Slaves in the Middle Passage?

I ask pardon. That question was before put to me; and I mentioned, that the number we carried into the West Indies, and the small number we lost, was the best proof of the treatment they had received.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Die Mercurij, 24° Aprilis 1793.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking further into Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade, and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the West India Colonies to be heard, by their Counsel, in Support of their several Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

The Counsel were accordingly called in.

Then PETER WHITFIELD BRANKER, Esq. was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

How long have you been in the African trade?

About nineteen years;—but in that time I made one voyage to America.

How many voyages have you made during the course of that time?

Eleven;—ten for Slaves, and one for cam wood — dye wood.

Did you make these voyages as commander of a ship?

Three voyages as mate, and the others as master.

When did you first go to Africa?

In the year 1772.

When was your last there?

In the year 1791.

Are you now concerned in the African trade?

I am concerned in it.

Have you by that means acquired a knowledge of, and experience upon, the subject which you would not otherwise have possessed?

Certainly I have.

To what parts of Africa have you traded?

Three voyages to the river Bonny in the bite of Africa; three

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voyages

voyages to the river Sierra Leone, Sherbro, and the country adjacent.

How many voyages have you been to the Gold Coast?

Five voyages to the Gold Coast.

What are the reputed limits of the Gold Coast?

From Cape La Hoo westerly, to the river Volta easterly.

Of what did your outward bound cargo consist?

It consisted of the manufactures of India and of Great Britain, of woollens, linens, printed goods; of iron, copper, brass, lead, pewter, arms, gunpowder, the manufactures of Sheffield and Birmingham; spirits, beads, and several small articles.

How many ships go annually from the port of Liverpool, that are employed in this trade?

In different years the number has been different, from 60 to 120.

To how many seamen does the navigation of these ships give employment?

The crew of an African ship, taken upon the average, consists generally of 30 persons.

What is the proportion which the shipping of Liverpool bears to the general shipping of this country, employed in that trade?

I fancy the town of Liverpool has more than two thirds of the trade.

Have you ever been a voyage merely for the purpose of wood?

I have been one voyage for that purpose.

Had you any Slaves on board your ship at that time?

Not more than one or two.

Did you experience as much or more sickness in the course of that voyage, as during voyages when your ship was crowded with Slaves?

I experienced more sickness that voyage in my own person, and full as much in the crew, as any I have gone since.

Was this owing to occasional, or to permanent causes?

It was owing chiefly to the uncultivated state of the country, and the swampy and marshy land contiguous to the sea on the banks of rivers.

Have you ever been detained on the coast of Africa, owing to the wars between the natives?

I was one time in the year 1781, detained some months by such a war.

Are wars in Africa beneficial or injurious to the Slave trade?

I can only speak to this one war; I know of no other, but that was very injurious to the trade.

Being detained longer, did you find yourselves better supplied with Slaves in consequence of that war?

During the time of that war there was an entire stop to trade.

Does Slavery exist within every part of Africa that is known to you?

Slavery exists in every part of Africa, that I have traded to or heard of.

Did it appear to you to have prevailed from remote antiquity, or to have been adopted in consequence of the trade with Europeans for Slaves?

From every information that I have received in Africa, Slavery has existed time immemorial.

In what manner do persons who have been free become Slaves.

Such persons who have become Slaves in my knowledge have forfeited their Freedom for crimes committed, or supposed crimes, for theft and adultery; for debt also they are made Slaves, if their friends cannot redeem them. There is also a crime imputed to some of them, which I believe is not known in this country, witchcraft.

Are there any human sacrifices which have fallen within your knowledge?

I have heard of many, and seen one.

How many different classes are there of Slaves?

There are hereditary Slaves, Slaves that belong to the estate; and there are Slaves that are brought down the country for sale.

Did you ever hear of such a practice as kidnapping?

Never, in that country.

Must you probably have heard of it, if it had taken place?

I have endeavoured to get every information I could from the most intelligent persons in the different parts of Africa I have traded to; I never heard of kidnapping from their information.

From

From all the information you have been able to collect, and from your knowledge of Africa and the trade, do you believe such a practice to exist?

I do not believe it.

During the many voyages that you have performed, have you ever known wars in that country, except in the instance you have mentioned?

I have known no other wars.

Was that war on account of religion, or for the purpose of making Slaves?

On account of religion.

Since you first became acquainted with it, has the Slave trade diminished or increased?

I am of opinion that the Slave trade is pretty much the same as when I first became acquainted with it.

Has the price of Slaves increased or diminished?

The price since I have been in the trade is nearly double.

To what cause is that owing?

It is owing to a competition in the trade, and to the demand in the West Indies increasing.

Have you been in the West Indies?

I have.

In what island?

I have been principally in the island of Jamaica—I have been in several of the islands, but principally there.

Have you had opportunities of comparing the condition of the Negro Slave in Jamaica with that of the same person in Africa?

I have had frequent opportunities of so doing.

In which of the two situations did the Slave appear to you to be the happiest?

Most undoubtedly, the Slave in the West Indies.

Has the Christian religion made any progress in the parts of Africa to which you have traded?

In the year 1788 an attempt was made at Cape Coast Castle, and a society was formed of the officers in garrison, and such masters of ships as chose to become of that society—I was one of them; the purpose was to superintend the education of children, descendants

scendants of White persons ;—I am sorry to say that it has since fallen to nothing.

Is there any trade, supposing the Slave Trade to be abolished, that could occupy the shipping of this country now employed in that trade ?

I do not know any trade that would furnish the large number of shipping that are now employed in the trade ;—for half a dozen ships would bring home as much of the commodities of Africa, dye wood, as could be made use of in one year ; indeed more, the cargo imported in the vessel I commanded was three years under sale.

From your experience of the trade, would the abolition of it be injurious to the manufactures and shipping of this country ?

Certainly.

Examined by the Lords.

To what distance inland does your knowledge of Africa reach ?

My knowledge of Africa is chiefly to that part of the country lying near the sea coast ; I have been up the Rio Pungus, a Portuguese river, the river Sherbro, the river Sierra Leone, and in the river of Bonny ; the remainder of the voyages were to those parts of Africa where there is no communication up the country by rivers.

Were you long enough to acquire any knowledge of the interior part of the country ?

I was not, to acquire any great knowledge of the interior part of the country.

The war which you mention, was it between the tribes or between nations on the coast ?

Between nations situated some thirty or forty miles from the coast inland. There are rivers in that part of Africa between Sierra Leone and the Rio Pungus.

You say that, during the war, a total stop was put to the trade ; what was the event after the war ?

When the war had subsided the trade opened ; to give it the term of the Blacks, the paths were open, and the trade came down as usual.

Was the market supplied in greater number, and the price lower ?

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The numbers were no more than the common trade ; the price was just the same.

You said it was a religious war ; explain that ?

Since I have known that part of Africa, the Mundingas, who are Mahometans, have been endeavouring to propagate their religion sword in hand : if they are permitted to send their teachers, their priests, into the different towns of the neighbouring tribes or people, they do not molest them, supposing, that in the course of time, by teaching their children, they shall spread their religion.

The Mahometans then were the aggressors in this war ?
From the information that I received it appears so.

You once saw a sacrifice ?
Yes.

Do you mean one victim ?

Only one victim ; there were a number sacrificed, but I could not bear to see more than one : it was merely for the purpose of saying that I had seen one.

Was that sacrifice at the interment of any great man ?

It was at the interment of a person named Botty, the Caboceer or head man of the town of Cape Coast.

Such sacrifices are not usual at the interment of other people but Caboceers and great men ?

I have heard of them at the interment of persons that were not Caboceers, but persons of fortune.

In what manner was the victim put to death ?

The head was taken off by a stroke with a broad sword upon the back of the neck.

Did you never hear of the great pillage ?

I never heard of any pillage in Africa.

You never heard of the practice of what they call breaking up villages ?

Never.

Do you know any thing of the proceedings on trials where people are condemned to slavery for crimes ?

I have not been present at any such trials.

What

What are the articles of the produce of Africa in the country that you have seen?

The produce of Africa are, different dye woods, cam wood, and red wood or bar wood, rice, Indian corn, yams, plantains, and all the tropical fruits; ivory is also brought from the interior countries on the heads of Negroes when they are brought to market, and gold is got upon the Gold Coast.

Does it produce any gums of value?

In the river Sierra Leone the gum copal is found, but a very small quantity overstocks the market.

Does it produce cotton?

I have seen cotton; it produces cotton.

Is the cotton of a good quality?

I am of opinion it is of a good quality.

Are you a judge of cotton?

I have bought and sold a good deal.

Compared with the cotton of the Brazils, what is the quality of the African cotton?

Not so good.

Compared with the East India cotton?

Nor so good as the East India cotton.

Is the rice good?

The rice is good.

Do not you imagine that if a trade was opened in these articles the produce would be considerably increased?

I imagine not.

Would the Natives not be desirous of the advantage of that trade?

I do not think they would.

Would not they be willing to exchange the articles of that produce for the same manufactures which they now take in exchange for Slaves?

I think they are naturally of so slothful a habit that they would not plant the quantity that would be necessary, nor will they be able to get rid of their natural prejudices.

How are the forts upon the coast of Africa supplied with their vegetables?

They

They are supplied chiefly from the Natives.

The vegetables then are raised by the labour of the Natives?

They are either raised in the gardens belonging to the forts by the Company's Slaves, or by the Natives at large.

Do the gardens afford the greater part of them?

Speaking of garden-stuff vegetables, and things of that kind: if we speak of corn, that is grown by the Natives.

And is not the quantity produced generally equal to the demand?

Not always so.

It bears some proportion to the demand, more or less?

I believe the Natives generally plant as much as will suffice their family, and furnish them with some little necessaries that they may want, and do not go further: they are of a very slothful habit.

In what respect is the happiness of the West India Negro superior to that of the Slave in Africa?

Their lives are secured to them, and their little property is secure.

How long was you in Jamaica?

I have been in Jamaica at different times, every voyage I made to Africa.

Did you know any instance in which the laws for the security of their lives was enforced?

I do not know whether there has been occasion for it. I believe the inhabitants of the island of Jamaica are men of the greatest honour.

The question has no relation to the honour of the inhabitants of Jamaica, but as to the fact?

I never heard that there was occasion for it.

Did you ever know an instance of the murder of a Slave by his master legally punished in the West India islands?

I have not heard of any such murder.

What was usually the proportion of adult and non-adult Slaves in the cargoes that you had?

I must speak from memory. I fancy that one third of the cargo was adult.

Were such young persons as you had on board accompanied by their parents or other relations to your knowledge?

Frequently.

When these young persons were brought on board, or any other of the Slaves, did you make it a rule to ask them, or to enquire, what was the ground of their being made Slaves previous to taking them on board your ship?

I have sometimes asked the question.

[The question was repeated.]

A constant rule we do not make it; I have asked some such questions.

What was the number that died in your different ships?

Under five in the hundred in the whole of the trade that I followed.

Have you, during your being in the African trade, ever heard of sacrifices on the different parts of the Coast upon which you have been?

I have.

Do you, as far as the information you have been able to obtain, conceive sacrifices to be general on the Coast of Africa?

From every information that I have received, sacrifices are general at different times.

Have you ever been inland any distance in the kingdom of Dahomey?

I have never been so far to leeward on the Gold Coast as Widdow.

Have you sufficient knowledge of the custom of the Negroes along shore to know of any difference between the state of Slavery there?

I am of opinion that the Slaves upon the Gold Coast, being the most civilized part of Africa, are in the best situation.

You have stated that the Slaves on the Gold Coast are in a better situation than in the other parts; do they ship as many Slaves in proportion from that part of the Coast as they do from the others?

From the different parts of Africa that I have traded to, there seem to be more Slaves shipped from Bonny than from the Gold Coast.

Can you state any reason why there are more shipped from Bonny than from the Gold Coast?

The communication to Bonny from the interior parts of the country is by water; on the Gold Coast it is by land.

Do you know whether the idea of supplying Europeans with Slaves is more or less encouraged by the people on the Gold Coast, who you declare are more civilized than the rest;—Whether it is more encouraged there than in the other parts of Africa where the trade is carried on?

I am of opinion that there are a certain number of Slaves to come to market; and they send them to such parts of Africa, of the sea coast, where they have the easiest conveyance. I have seen persons of the same country in Sierra Leone, and upon the Gold Coast; the sea coast is widely different.

What distance in leagues is the Gold Coast from the river of Sierra Leone?

I fancy between two and three hundred leagues.

You say you saw the same sort of people brought down to both places, was that your answer?

It was.

Are you sufficiently acquainted, from only having made occasional residences upon the Coast, to know the difference between the domestic Slave and the Slave that is made so for various purposes, as you have already described?

I do not think I can speak fully to that question; in part I can.

You have stated that you conceive the Slave in Jamaica to be happier than in Africa, on account of his having his life and property secured to him; do you know whether the master of the Slave in Africa can take away the life of his Slave without any form of trial whatsoever?

From every information I have received upon that subject, I believe they can do it.

From your occasional and frequent visits along the coast, have you seen any difference between the state of the comfort and convenience of the Master and that of the Slave?

Where you are acquainted with their domestic œconomy you see a great deal of difference: when they are about their morning occupation, when they are undressed, the difference is not so easily perceived; but in the evening, when the work is finished,
and

and they dress for ceremony, the difference is very great indeed, especially among the Mundingas, who are always served upon the knee.

Have you frequently seen the dress of the Slave in the West India islands; is he or she better or worse dressed than the male or female Slave is on the Coast of Africa?

They are generally better dressed; in some parts of Africa they scarcely cover nature; in many parts.

Do you know whether every free person, man or woman, on the Coast, as far as your knowledge goes, is dressed or not?

They are dressed according to the custom of the country, which is generally by putting a piece of cloth round them, except, when the great men appear in state, they have something more about them, such as gold, coral, amber, and other things which they adorn themselves with.

When the Slaves are brought down upon the coast to be sold, have they any cloathing or not?

The women have just as much as will cover nature, and the men have frequently nothing at all.

Is the Slave belonging to the freeman along shore, more or less dressed than those Slaves brought down the country for European purchase?

They are generally better dressed; the cloth they have is better, the whole dress consists of a piece of cloth tyed round them.

Is the dress of the Slave the same whether he is a resident along shore, or whether he is brought down from the country for purchase?

When the men Slaves are brought to us for sale, they very seldom have any dress at all; the men Slaves that I have seen on shore have a piece of cloth tyed round them.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the manners of the Coast to say whether the child of a Slave by a Free man is born free, or whether it is born a Slave?

The child always follows the condition of the mother.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the manners of that country to answer how the law of succession is?

In the next male heir in the female line, in every part of Africa that I have visited.

Is the Slave Trade carried on along the shore, or are ships obliged

obliged to go up rivers for the purpose of procuring their cargoes of Slaves?

In some parts of Africa they go up rivers, in others they lie open.

In which situation is the cargo most quickly procured?

In those parts of Africa where the ships go up the rivers, they generally get their cargoes sooner; the rivers are, the Gambia, the river Bonny, Benue, Old and New Calabar, Cameroon, and the river Congo in Angola.

You stated in a former part of your evidence that you made one voyage for the procuring of dye wood; was you longer detained on the coast upon that voyage than you would have been if it had been a voyage for the purpose of getting Slaves?

I was detained as long again as I should have been if I had intended to purchase Slaves.

Do you conceive that any vessel going for the sole purpose of procuring Slaves would be detained a shorter time upon the Coast, than any vessel going for any other purpose?

There are some vessels, perhaps one or two, that at this time trade for ivory; and they are generally a long time upon the Coast.

Have you, from any conversation that you have held either with Europeans or with Blacks, heard of any eastern channel through which Slaves are transported out of Africa?

Whilst I was in the Rio Pungus I had some conversation with a person—

White or black?

Neither white nor black: he seemed to be a Turk, a Mahometan who came down with a caravan for the purpose of selling Slaves; he informed me that Slaves were carried to several parts of Africa to be sold.

Where did this man with his caravan come from?

From about the head of the River Gambia.

Do you know how far the River Gambia is from the sea side?

I fancy the heads of the river Gambia extend from 700 to 1000 miles up the country.

Did you ever hear of any nation to the eastward towards Egypt, purchasing Slaves, and carrying them to the eastward?

I have had such information.

From

From what channel?

The information was from White Persons residing in Africa.

Did you ever hear of the Emperor of Morocco fetching Slaves away for the purpose of keeping up his Black army?

From the same persons I have had such information.

Have you ever laid at any roadstead in company with any foreign vessel?

I have frequently.

Have you ever heard, from any one of the commanders of these vessels, that any trade for the purpose of carrying Slaves has been carried on to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope by European vessels?

I have had that information from several Frenchmen?

Having made eleven voyages from the Coast of Africa to the West Indies, state the usual, the average time, of such a passage.

The average of a passage to the Island of Jamaica, where I have always traded, is about six weeks.

Being thoroughly acquainted with the climate upon the Coast of Africa and that of the West Indies, is the heat pretty nearly equal?

Pretty nearly so.

Do you consider the Slave transported, to be, when in the West Indies, in the same sort of climate as he would be in his own country?

I imagine Africa and the West Indies are pretty much the same climate; the islands in the West Indies being more cleared, have a freer circulation of air, and they are more likely to retain their health.

Did you ever know an instance of a Slave or a Negro complain of heat?

I have heard them in the scorching rays of the sun complain of heat; but they oftener complain of cold. It is a general custom with the Negroes to sit over a fire both morning and evening.

On the Coast of Africa you mean?

On the Coast of Africa and in the West Indies.

During the various voyages that you have made in the middle

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passage,

passage, had you ever any epidemical distemper on board the vessels you have commanded?

In two voyages I was troubled with the flux a good deal, and one with the scurvy.

As far as you can judge, did the Slaves, whilst on their passage, appear satisfied and content?

They were so well satisfied, that in the course of last war I put arms into their hands, and exercised them both with the small arms and great guns. I went down from the Island of Antigua to Jamaica with only twelve White Persons on board the ship, and the cargo of Slaves entirely at liberty.

Having made a voyage since the Regulation Act took place, can you inform me of the breadth allowed to every Slave on board?

Since the Regulating Act, while the Slaves are below in the night they generally lie on one side of the ship, and leave the other entirely vacant, so that they have as much room as they wish.

Should no more ships go upon the Coast for Slaves, what do you conceive would become of the Slaves?

I have not yet known Africa in that situation; but to give an opinion—In such case they would alter their code of laws, and I doubt would make them more sanguinary.

Having stated that you have always traded to Jamaica, have you ever traded to the North side of the island?

Only one voyage to Montego Bay.

Have you, during your ship's continuing at the Island of Jamaica, ever been over on the North side, so as to know the coast?

I have not been over on the North side to know the coast; but from the time that I went down the North side of Jamaica the wind was westerly; we were seven days from the East end of Jamaica to Montego Bay. I frequently went on shore on different parts of the North side during that time, and made several observations with regard to the anchorage in several bays.

You must of course have stretched to the Northward; you can therefore say how far from the East end of Jamaica lies the Island of Cuba?

About twenty-five leagues.

Do

Do you conceive, from your knowledge as a seaman, that it is easy to land in the night cargoes in any contraband trade on the North side of the Island of Jamaica?

I should suppose it was very easy to do so.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the North side of Jamaica, to say whether, in your opinion, it would be safe for a King's ship to remain close in shore during the night?

There are many parts of the North side of Jamaica where there is no anchorage, except close to the rocks; in such cases it is very difficult.

Do you imagine that it would be possible to prevent running cargoes of Slaves on the North side of the Island of Jamaica, in the night, notwithstanding that the King's cruisers should be there to prevent that or any other purpose?

I imagine that small fast-sailing vessels could land any thing they chose on the North side of Jamaica, without danger.

Without danger of what?

Of being captured by a King's ship.

What effect, if any, would the abolition of the Slave Trade have upon these human sacrifices which you have described; that is, would it render them more or less frequent, or leave them as they are?

The Slaves for such sacrifices are generally presents made from one person to the friends of the deceased. I imagine it would leave them much in the same state. I have an opinion, that persons of less eminence would have Slaves sacrificed at their funerals if the Trade were abolished.

You mentioned, that you had only seen one victim; but if you are rightly understood, it was because you did not wish to see more of such scenes, for you might have seen more victims sacrificed if you had so pleased?

I might have seen several. I have seen the remains of many after they were sacrificed.

You stated, that a common voyage from Africa to Jamaica was about six weeks: Suppose, that when you reached the Coast of Jamaica, you had been ordered not to land your cargo, but to return with it to Africa, and had obeyed that order, what time would that voyage have taken?

It would take twelve weeks at least.

What is the ordinary stock of provisions laid in for a voyage from Africa to Jamaica?

I have generally laid in provisions sufficient for ten weeks, for a hundred Negroes. I have generally laid in about 5500 gallons of water.

And what time did you say the return from Jamaica would take?

It would take at least twelve weeks.

From what ports did you sail with your different ships, and in whose employ was you? State the names of the ships and the years, as far as you can recollect, one by one.

The first voyage in 1772, in the employ of William Gregson and Co. as Mate to John Kendal, in the Polly, of Liverpool: the second voyage in 1774, in the same ship, and the same Commander; the third voyage in 1775, in the same ship, and the same Commander; in 1777, I was Master of the brig Pearl, belonging to Gregson and Bridge, for cam wood; in the year 1779, I commanded the Anne, belonging to John Copeland and Company; in the year 1781-2, I commanded the same ship; in the year 1783, I commanded the George, belonging to William Gregson and Co.; in the year 1784, I commanded the Elizabeth, in the same concern; in the year 1785-6, the Mungo, Richard Wilding and Co.; in the year 1788-9, the Diana, Richard Wilding and Co.; in the year 1790, the Diana again.

It having been stated, that if a ship should be ordered to return from Jamaica with the Slaves on board, it would take twelve weeks to carry them back; upon what sort of provisions would it be possible for the Commander to feed those Negroes?

If I was obliged to return from Jamaica, without coming to an anchor, I fancy I should be obliged to call in America for provisions, as the provisions I had on board would not suffice to return to the Coast of Africa: but if I had the liberty of landing in the Island of Jamaica, I might perhaps meet with a vessel from America that I might get corn of; but it would be a very great chance that I met with it.

You do not conceive that corn is to be procured in the West Indies in such quantity, as would suffice you for your voyage back to the Coast of Africa?

It is to be procured; but it would take some time to do it.

At great or little expence could you procure this corn?

The expence would be pretty considerable.

When you arrived upon the coast with these Slaves, how would you dispose of them ?

I should have no other method of disposing of them but to the ships of different countries, the French, Portuguese, or perhaps Spaniards ; for I am informed that ships are going to be fitted out from Spain to the Coast of Africa.

Suppose there should be no vessels in the Road, and you should land these Slaves ; in that case, what would become of them ?

I fancy they would be held in Slavery by the persons in power in the place where they were landed ; there might be some disturbance about their dividing them ; but they certainly would be held in Slavery.

Whether it is not the practice, when the Slave ships are lying in the River Bonny, for armed canoes to be sent up the river to fetch down Slaves ?

When the canoes leave Bonny to go up the country, they are full of European goods, the goods that they take from the ships, and they are armed as it is usual to travel ; in that country they never travel unarmed.

Do not they carry muskets in the canoes ?

The arms they carry are muskets ; the large canoes have generally a small gun in the bow, a two or three pounder.

What is the reason that the Natives generally go armed ?

I can give no other reason but its being the custom of the country.

In what manner are the Slaves that are brought down in these canoes enslaved ? In what manner are they taken ?

From the information I have received from the persons that bring them down, they are carried from one market to another ; the market the Bonny people go to takes them about two days or two days and an half to paddle up to it ; they are not so long returning ; they come with the stream.

What is the use of a three or four pounder lashed to the bow ?

The only use I ever knew them to be made of is to be fired, as in case of a *feu de joye*.

Was you in the habit of observing the thermometer on the Coast of Africa and in the West Indies ?

L

I have

I have upon the Gold Coast.

It is from those observations that you speak of the equality of the temperature?

From those observations. I have generally carried an hydrometer for the purpose of trying liquor; and there is a thermometer added to it, which is generally hung up in the cabin.

From your own observations you found the temperatures equal?

Both from my own observations and from the feel of my body.

The temperature of the countries from which many of the Slaves are brought may be very different, for any thing that you know to the contrary?

If we look to the latitude that the Coast of Africa lies under, the temperature must be pretty much the same.

Do you know or conceive, that the Slaves all come from one latitude?

It is impossible they should.

Then in the different latitudes they may come from different temperatures?

That part of the Coast of Africa where we procure Slaves, extends from about fourteen or fifteen North to eight or nine South; but the temperature is pretty much the same over all that latitude.

You speak of the Coast; you cannot know the interior.

I speak of the Coast, and as far of the interior as I have been in.

Are not the mornings and evenings, both upon the Coast of Africa and in the West Indies, cold in comparison to the mid-day?

They are, in both countries.

Whether the men Slaves in the middle passage are not generally fettered?

Such as come from the country immediately upon the sea coast. Those from the upper countries are liberated as soon as the ship leaves the Coast of Africa, and the others by degrees, till there are very few of them left in irons.

In your various voyages you must have sailed between both tropics.

tropics. Is the temperature of the air from lat. 27 north, down as far to the southward as you have had occasion to go, not the same; and perfectly the same, not only on the Coast of Africa, but in the West Indies, and along through the Gulph as far as the latitude 27 reaches, even on the Coast of America?

Wherever the trade wind blows the temperature is the same.

Does not the trade wind, on that particular part of the globe that has been described, constantly and regularly, except when interrupted by calms, blow universally from the same quarter in both hemispheres?

It does; from the East.

Did you ever in your life know an instance of a Slave or a Black Man complaining of heat?

I have never heard them complain of heat, except in the scorching rays of the sun.

Was that in local situations only?

In local situations.

A question has been put, Whether the mornings and evenings were not in general colder than in the middle of the day—Whether in the West Indies, and on the Coast of Africa too, you have not perceived that the great heat is between the hours of four and six in the evening, and from six till eight in the morning?

Certainly.

Owing to what cause?

After the land wind has fallen away there is an intermediate calm between that and the sea breeze.

Where there is a free circulation of air not immediately under the lee of a hill, is not the middle of the day, from about half past ten till three o'clock in the afternoon, the coolest and the wholesomest part of the day in the tropical latitudes?

It is certainly the coolest part of the day, if you are out of the sun.

Is it not so, even in the sun?

It is much cooler than that part of the day where there is no breeze at all.

From having had occasion to sail on the Coast of Africa, you have

have been undoubtedly in possession of the usual charts that are requisite to navigate a ship in those seas?

Certainly.

In these charts there is not merely delineated the sea coast, but, as far as European knowledge goes, the continent of Africa?

The country immediately joining upon the sea coast, and for some distance back, is delineated.

You, as a seaman, had those general charts of the four quarters of the globe that are known to every one?

I had.

Have you made an observation that the colour of the Negro must originate from the propinquity in which the Inhabitants live to those particular parts of Africa on which the Sun has the strongest influence?

The inhabitants of the Gold Coast to the Coast of Angola, and indeed the Windward Coast in general, are darker than the inhabitants of the rivers to the Northward, or the Slaves that come down the river Bonny.

Was you ever at Goree?

Never.

Have you ever seen people who have resided much at Goree?

I cannot say I ever was acquainted but with one who resided there.

What is the latitude of Goree?

Between 15 and 16.

Have you ever heard of any Inhabitant on the North side of the river Goree that was not Black?

I have seen some Slaves from the North side of the river Senegal, and they were not so black as the Slaves to the Southward. I have seen Slaves from the river Gambia, which is contiguous to Senegal, who were Black.

When the Slaves have been brought down to the Sea Coast, from the greatest distance, were they clothed at all?

The men not clothed at all, the women as much as nature required.

When those naked men first saw the European dress, did they

express any sort of astonishment, as if they were unacquainted with the use of clothes?

They expressed some degree of astonishment, but I fancy that was from seeing people of different colour from themselves.

Having stated that you met a Turk once with a caravan, whether in conversation with this Turk a very large town at an immense distance back in the country, was mentioned or not?

He gave me an account of the great King of the Fooleys, the largest country that belonged to him. He did not mention whether they were towns or villages.

Did you conceive that the inhabitants there were Blacks or Whites?

At the same time the son in law of the King of the Fooleys was down, and he was Black.

Was this son of the King clothed or not? or if clothed, was he clothed as if he lived in a colder climate than where they then were?

He was clothed with two elegant pieces of cloth, one tied round him, and the other over his shoulder, in the fashion of the Mundingos.

Was that stile of dress an indication of a hot or of a cold climate?

It was an indication of a warm climate.

You stated the difficulty you should be under, upon a supposition that you were not permitted to land your cargo in Jamaica, but ordered to return to Africa. Would these difficulties be increased or diminished, if instead of that supposed agreement, you were considered as a contraband trader, and chased by cruisers as such?

It would be more difficult if I was to be considered as a contraband trader, and chased.

If your ship were seized, and the crew taken out, in what manner could they be conveyed back to Africa, you having no further concern with them?

They might be conveyed back, but with very great difficulty.

Should you be on the middle passage, and fall in with any vessel, previous to your being to leeward of Barbadoes, which should give you information, that if your ship, loaded with Slaves, were

to be met hovering on any of the British Islands, she would be liable to be seized for being so loaded, what steps would you in that case take?

I would haul to the Southward, and endeavour to make Demerara, or some of the Dutch settlements, and by that means dispose of my cargo.

Suppose you could not fetch it, from strong currents, which you of course know run very strong between the Islands of Tobago, Grenada, and Trinidad, to what other part of the coast would you attempt to carry that cargo of Slaves?

To the Spanish settlement of Laguerra.

Suppose you were to proceed with a cargo of Slaves to Cumberland Harbour in the Island of Cuba, do you imagine that that harbour is so far distant from the Island of Jamaica, as not to be able, in small craft, to run over cargoes of Slaves in the night?

I do not know a place more suitable for it; and I am certain, that if the Negroes were wanted in Jamaica, that there would be plenty of craft to take the Negroes from thence.

Are you at all acquainted with the relative situation of the French and English windward West India Islands?

I am.

Do you suppose that the Island of Gaudalupe could supply the Island of Antigua with safety, or with danger of the small craft being taken?

With very great safety.

The Island of Dominique being situate between Gaudalupe and Martinique, do you conceive it would be possible to prevent any number of Negroes whatever being landed upon the Island of Dominique?

It would be impossible to prevent it.

Do you imagine that the Dutch Island of Saint Eustatius could not supply the Islands of Nevis and Saint Christophers with any number of Slaves they chose?

Certainly, from their situation.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the Windward Islands to say, if a vessel weathers the Saints, whether that vessel could fetch the Island of Barbadoes?

As the trade winds generally are, I imagine a fast sailing vessel would fetch Barbadoes.

Do you therefore imagine that vessels loaded with Slaves could land in the Island of Barbadoes, or not, with safety?

There are so many landing places in the Island of Barbadoes that there would be not the least difficulty.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Die Verlesung des Jahres 1792

THE Order of the Day being read for reading further into
 Consideration of the Report of the Trade to Africa and
 particularly the Trade to Slave, and also the Western Extension
 and Importance of the Sugar Colonies and Cotton Trade, and
 the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and
 the Means of improving the same, and for the House to be
 moved, and for the Report of the West India Company to be
 heard by their Council, in support of their Petition against
 the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The Council were called in.

Then JAMES COCHRAN Esq. was called in, and being sworn
 was examined as follows.

Have you been on the Coast of Africa?
 Yes.

At what time, and upon what occasion?
 In the beginning of the year 1792, in the beginning of the month
 of February I arrived at Sierra Leone, in the service of the
 London Company, as a Member of their Council at Sierra Leone.

In what particular employ was you engaged before that of
 being a Member of their Council?
 As engineer and surveyor of lands in Sierra Leone.

Did you sit out for it in Station with disaffection and opinions
 favourable to the abolition of the Slave Trade, or otherwise?
 With disaffection favourable to the abolition of the Slave
 Trade.

Had you, in the time you filled, any opportunity of know-
 ing whether Slavery in that country was a condition of any
 continuance?
 I had some opportunities.

Die Veneris, 3^o Maij 1793.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking further into Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade, and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the West India Colonies to be heard, by their Counsel, in Support of their Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

The Counsel were called in.

Then JAMES COCKS Esq. was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Have you been on the Coast of Africa?

Yes.

At what time; and upon what occasion?

In the beginning of the year 1792. In the beginning of the month of February I arrived at Sierra Leone, in the service of the Sierra Leone Company, as a Member of their Council at Sierra Leone.

In what particular employ was you engaged besides that of being a Member of their Council?

As engineer and surveyor of lands in their service.

Did you set out for that station with dispositions and opinions favourable to the abolition of the Slave Trade, or otherwise?

With dispositions favourable to the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Had you, in the situation you filled, any opportunity of knowing whether Slavery in that country was a condition of very antient continuance?

I had some opportunities.

N

Will

Will you state what was the information you was enabled to collect upon that subject?

Slavery I believe to be of very antient date in that country. I have frequently conversed with the Chief Counsellors, or Chief Palaver Speakers, as they are called in that country: A man cannot be professionally qualified for this office without possessing in an uncommon degree the powers of memory, and unless he has made the traditionary history of the nation to which he is attached his particular study.—I have conversed with one or two on this subject. The traditionary history of some of the nations, or rather principalities, on the Coast of Africa, I have been credibly informed extends to a distance of time not less remote than seventeen or eighteen hundred years—that is the information that I received.—They have related to me particulars of the Chiefs of that country having Slaves at a time far anterior to any knowledge which Europeans had of that country; I mean with regard to the Slave Trade.

Did the traditionary accounts go to any period when the Trade in Slaves did not exist in that country?

I have not been informed that it reached to a period anterior to the establishment of Slavery.

Do you mean anterior to the condition of Slavery in that country, or to the Trade in Slaves?

I mean to the condition of Slavery.

Within what description are the Slaves that you had occasion to see in Africa classed?

They appeared to be domestic Slaves, and saleable Slaves.

Do you know by what causes Slaves become such, and freemen become Slaves?

My situation did not enable me to make many observations on the state of Slavery, because it was the spirit of the Company in whose service I embarked to discontinue, or at least to interrupt as much as possible, the continuance of that Trade;—my situation therefore did not qualify me to speak fully on that subject.

Do you know, whether persons become Slaves by the commission of crimes, and by the sentence of courts in consequence of their being convicted of crimes?

I have been informed that they do.

Do you know any thing respecting the mode of conducting those trials?

Only

Only from information ; I was never present at a process of that sort.

Do you know from the information of persons in the country in what manner trials which issue in a sentence of condemnation to Slavery are conducted ?

I have been informed that the Chief, whose subject the culprit is, assembles the leading people of the principality over which he presides, and this assembly is called a Palaver.—His Chief Palaver Speaker arraigns the supposed culprit, the evidence is produced, and the Palaver determines upon the cause.

What are the nature of those crimes for which this punishment is inflicted ?

Adultery, witchcraft, and sometimes murder ;—but murder I have been informed is more generally punished with death.

Had you occasion to know whether any such practice existed in that country as what is generally understood by the term ' Kidnapping' ?

I never heard of an instance of it.

Were there any wars upon the Coast while you was there ?

Yes ; I heard of a small difference that existed between two Black Slave Dealers on the Coast, and which I have been informed went to extremity.

Are wars favourable to the Slave Trade, or otherwise ?

I really am not competent to speak to that question—my knowledge of the trade does not enable me.

Have you ever heard of any villages being broken up for the purpose of making Slaves ?

No, I have not upon that part of the Coast.

From the observations you were enabled to make, and the information you were enabled to collect while you was there, do you think that the abolition of the Slave Trade would contribute to the happiness and civilization of the people of that Country ?

It is only an opinion that I can offer upon that subject,—and my opinion is, that as the abolition of the Slave Trade would be the means of lessening the intercourse of Europeans with that country ; and as, I believe, it is generally supposed that commerce has been the medium through which civilization in polished life has passed from one nation to another, and from one country to another, I do not know whether the abolition of the Slave Trade

Trade would not retard the progress of civilization, unless some intercourse of another sort were substituted in its stead.

Do you think the cultivation of that country is able to be carried on by free labour only?

That is a question which applies particularly to the experiment now making by the Sierra Leone Company:—my health did not permit me to remain in that Colony a sufficient space of time to see a fair experiment made. During the time I remained there, I despaired of ever witnessing a steady continuance of free labour by the Blacks;—and when I enquired into the principal existing causes from the most intelligent persons on the Coast, they gave me for a reason, that a Native of that country can, by the labour of a fortnight or of three weeks in sowing rice, annually, procure himself a sufficient quantity of that article for subsistence for a whole year, with the addition of one week or two more for the purpose of planting other vegetables.—Now as I have always thought that in no country in the world have persons recourse to hard manual labour but for a mere subsistence, I scarcely suppose that these Natives would subject themselves to coercive labour, when a sustenance might be procured them in the way that I have mentioned;—but it is impossible for me to say what perseverance may do on the part of the Company I had the honour to serve, aided by a large capital, and conducted by men of so much integrity and worth.

Is property in land in that country permanent and well secured?

I am inclined to think that it is not.

Do the same persons appear to occupy for a succession of years the same land, or is it occupied at random by any new possessor?

I believe the Natives of that country have no distinct idea of exclusive territorial possession.

In what manner then is the occupation of lands regulated?

A native seldom employs the same spot two years for the purpose of cultivating his rice. I should therefore suppose, as the country is so thinly inhabited, and there being much more land than can be used for that purpose, which is the only purpose they apply it to besides that of building, that the question of territorial property has never been much considered amongst them.

Was that part of the country where you, as a Member of the Council of Sierra Leone, resided, healthy, or otherwise?

It

It was not very healthy, if I can judge from the general sickness that prevailed for some time amongst the new settlers.

To what number might these new settlers amount?

Does the question mean the Free Blacks that came from Nova Scotia, and the Whites?

Give the number of both descriptions of persons?

I cannot be sure that I am correct, but I think the number of Free Blacks imported from Halifax, including women and children, amounted to between ten and eleven hundred.

What mortality was there amongst them during the time you stayed there; and specify the time you continued there?

I continued there about five months, not quite five months; but I have no list of the deaths, and therefore I cannot speak as to the question.

What number of Whites?

The number of Whites, including seamen employed in the service, I believe amounted to about one hundred and thirty;—I should think that was pretty near the number.

Can you speak to the mortality that took place among the white settlers during the time you stayed there?

I do not perfectly recollect; but I think there were between twenty and thirty deaths; perhaps nearer thirty than twenty.

Are you enabled to state what mortality there was in the settlement, including Blacks and Whites?

I should think more than one hundred and fifty deaths, and not so many as two hundred;—I am not certain as to this particular.

On what account did you leave that country?

On account of ill health.

Did the natives of that country shew much disposition to encourage the settlement there?

At our first arrival they appeared averse to our landing; but after a few days negotiation with the Chiefs of the country we were permitted quietly to land.

With whom was the contract made, if any contract was made, for the purchase of that land which was sold for the Sierra Leone Company?

It was made by the Chief Resident on the banks of that river—King Naimbanna.

O

Do

Do you know the terms upon which that contract was formed?
Does the question mean the purchase money?

Yes?

No; I do not know what articles were given in exchange for it.

Do you know in what manner, and with what solemnities, that contract was formed?

I believe the contract was formed as nearly as was possible to the mode of forming contracts of the same sort in this country.

Was any visible evidence of that contract produced; any writing, or otherwise?

I believe the title deeds were brought home to this country.

Was there any writing executed between the parties?

I believe there was.

Was that obtained prior to the landing of the new settlers?

It was so before their going out; before their setting out for that country.

Do you mean that these supposed title deeds were executed prior to the time of the embarkation of the new settlement for Sierra Leone?

Yes, I do; prior to the embarkation of the colony for Sierra Leone.

Did you ever see that deed?

I never saw the original, but I have seen a copy of it.

You have stated, that notwithstanding this deed the landing of the new settlement was in some measure opposed;—how was the opposition to their landing at last overcome?

By the Chief who had sold that district of land being convinced that we were the persons sent out to occupy it.

Could you obtain a landing till that Chief or other Chiefs of the country were induced to permit it by considerable presents made to them for that purpose?

No; we judged it hazardous to make a landing before arrangements of that sort had been made, because certain menaces were made by one of the petty Chiefs, on the banks of that river, to some persons who went on shore to see him on our first arrival.

Whether any presents were made to that Chief to induce him to withdraw his opposition to your landing?

There were.

Of what nature were the presents made by you to those Chiefs?

I believe the principal article was a puncheon of rum, together with a few articles of dress.

Was the opposition of the other Chiefs removed in the same manner?

We had only two Chiefs to consult on that subject.

After you had landed, were presents afterwards sent for by the Chiefs who had originally opposed the landing, or by others of the country?

Requests of that kind were from time to time made, and I believe pretty generally complied with.

Do you believe, from what you were enabled to observe, that the continuance of that colony can subsist any longer than the Chiefs are from time to time thus rendered favourable to their continuance?

I believe that a combination of the force of the Chiefs of that country could extirpate the infant colony; but, from their conduct towards us whilst we remained there, we had no reason to dread any violence of that sort.

Had the colony intermitted the custom of giving presents during any part of the time that you continued there?

I believe such presents as were made after the arrangement of our arrival, were mostly such as were solicited on the part of the Chiefs.

Had their solicitations been discontinued prior to the time of your return to England?

No, they had not.

What sort of animals are there among the Natives in that part of the country where you resided, for the purpose of agriculture and domestic use?

I have seen no animals for the purpose of agriculture in that part of the country, nor do I think that they have any; the only cattle that they have consist of a few sheep and goats, and a few swine in some parts.

Are there many animals of prey in that part of the country?

I have

I have been informed there are a great many, but I never heard an instance of their having disturbed the settlers.

Is the interior part of that country woody or open?
Extremely woody,—all the parts that I visited.

Have you been able to learn whether these woods extend very far up the country?

I have been informed that they extend very far.

Are the Natives in that part of the country usually clothed, or do they go naked?

They generally wear some kind of cloathing; and that cloathing generally consists of a coarse check shirt, with a pair of coarse trowsers.

Of what country is the manufacture of these clothes?

I believe they are, for the most part, the manufacture of Europe.

British, or of other countries?

Both British, French, and Dutch, according to the trade carried on to that coast.

Having stated the mortality of the new Settlement, are you able to assign the causes in particular to which the sickness in that part of the country is owing?

The medical men who are employed by the Company at that Settlement, attributed the sickness to the want of a free circulation of air, occasioned by the density of the surrounding woods; but at the same time they believed, that in proportion as that impediment was removed, the country would become healthier.

Do plants raised from European seeds thrive in that country?

Not very well, I believe.

Do they run to seed, so as to continue the supply of vegetables in that country, without a fresh annual importation from Europe?

I have seen none that run to seed; and I have been informed by persons who made the experiment, that a fresh annual supply of most European seeds would be requisite.

Was you enabled to observe whether any religion obtained amongst the natives, and what was the nature of their religious impressions?

Their religion, I mean the religion of those in the neighbourhood

hood of Sierra Leone, and at Sierra Leone, appears to be a sort of Pagan superstition;—believing in the efficacy of the worship of idols;—believing nevertheless in the existence of the Deity, to whom they ascribe all the attributes of goodness that Christians do; and believing at the same time, that from a Being wholly composed of goodness no evil can proceed, they neglect the worship of God, and worship the Devil, lest he should do them an injury.—This I have been informed is the general religious creed of the Natives about Sierra Leone.

Examined by the Lords.

You stated that you was one of the Council of the Sierra Leone Company?

Yes.

As one of the Council, was you acquainted with the instructions that were given for forming the Settlement?

Certainly.

As you have stated that the instigators, the promoters of this society, were men of such great worth and value, do you know whether there was any article in these instructions for prohibiting the sale of rum and fire arms to the Natives?

I believe there were no such instructions given to the Council.

On the passage out, was there ever any conversation amongst the members of the Council relative to any apprehension of difficulty in landing, or in making their landing good?

Although a member of the Council, I was not present at all the conversations which the members of the Council might have had on ship board; but in any conversation that I have had on the subject, it was generally believed, it was the general opinion that we should be well received.

Did the members of the Council go in one ship, or in various vessels?

The major part of the Council, which consisted of eight persons, were conveyed to Sierra Leone in one ship.

You was one of the original settlers that went out;—did you, either previous to your leaving this country, or previous to your arrival on the coast of Africa, see this deed, or the copy of this deed?

I believe I saw the copy both before my embarkation for Sierra Leone, and, I believe, after my arrival there. But a question was
P put

put respecting my being one of the original settlers; I was not one of the original settlers, because settlers had been sent out there seven years ago.

Did you find any of those settlers that had gone out seven years before that period, upon the spot at the time of your arrival?

These original settlers had made choice of their first residence nearly in the same spot where our first town is built; but on our arrival, there was scarcely any vestige of a town having been upon that spot.—We found the remaining part of the original settlers resident about two miles and a half, or three miles higher up, on the same side of the river.

Who had been these settlers?

The original settlers consisted chiefly of the Black poor, who swarmed about the streets of London about seven, eight, or nine years ago; they were sent out partly, I believe, by the assistance of Government, and partly by the subscription of certain benevolent men in this country.

Did any Whites go out with these Blacks?

Not having accompanied that undertaking in its first stage, which I have just mentioned, I do not know the number of Whites, but some certainly did go out.

Were any of the Whites left?

Some were left.

What account did these Whites give of their treatment from the Natives?

A very unfavourable one.

Had they offered any insults to the Whites?

A neighbouring Chief (whom the English sailors have generally called King Jemmy), on account of some difference that had for some time subsisted between him and those original settlers, sent them a menace that if they did not remove from their residence at that time, within a certain period specified by him, that he would invade their town, and set fire to it. The settlers, I believe, upon this, or shortly after this menace had been sent them, removed elsewhere; and, I believe, after their removal the huts remaining were burnt or demolished by this Chief.

Do you know whether any of the Blacks that were carried out seven years ago had been sold by the Natives to European ships for Slaves?

I have been informed that some of them were.

From

From what source of information did you get that intelligence?

From the mouth of one or more of those original settlers who were remaining.

You stated that you have seen the original or the copy of this contract,—was this contract signed by the King or Prince?

I believe the contract exhibited his mark upon the face of it.

Could this great man write, or not?

I am not acquainted with his talents,—but I should think not, from that particular.

You have stated that there was a difficulty to make your landing good at first;—was this contract shewn to this Prince when the difficulty was first made, or not?

I do not know whether the contract, or a copy of the contract, was shewn him; but, I believe, he had no objection to our landing as soon as he became convinced that we were the persons he expected, and that we were friendly to their welfare.

Did this Prince seem to understand the nature of the contract, or not, upon your first coming on the Coast?

I believe not distinctly.

Was this Prince the same Prince who had signed this contract which had been brought to England, or not?

No; the Prince who had signed that contract was King Naimbanna.

Did the Prince on whose territory you effected your landing depend upon the King Naimbanna, or not?—was he his tributary?

I do not perfectly understand the constitution of these principalities, or their regard one to another;—but I have been informed that he was under the controul of King Naimbanna.

Was the contract signed by the King Naimbanna for a territorial possession that he had no right to?

His right of disposing of that district in this form would surely have been disputed by the other Chiefs.

Did you ever see this King?

I have, several times.

Did he seem to be sensible to the meaning of the contract which bore his mark?

I never conversed with him upon that subject; but I have been informed he did not conceive it in its full extent.

For

For what reason?

The reasons I cannot be supposed to be acquainted with. His ignorance, I should suppose, of contracts of that sort, must be the reason.

Do you conceive that this King was ignorant of what he had done when he made this contract?

I imagine, that not having any idea of geometry, he did not clearly understand what was meant by the disposal of twenty miles square.

As far as your knowledge goes, do you know whether any contract entered into by a great man in Africa, is held binding by his successors?

As I am not conversant with the laws of succession there, I cannot speak as to that question.

You have stated that you did not know what had been given for this contract?

I am not acquainted with the value, or the amount of the articles given.

But what were the articles given for the twenty miles square?—Being a member of the Council, it is to be imagined that you should know what the value of the purchase was, and in what articles the purchase was paid for?

The purchase had been made some time previous to my embarkation; and although I cannot specify the particular articles, I believe they consisted of rum, gunpowder, and other things.

Do you mean that they are the general articles that are given by Europeans in exchange for Slaves?

I believe the articles commonly given in exchange for Slaves, are cloathing of different sorts, gunpowder, guns, tobacco, and so forth.

The question is, whether the various articles that you have now mentioned, which it is well known are given by the Europeans in truck for Slaves,—whether those identical articles were, or were not, given by those people of worth and integrity for the purpose of getting the King's mark to this contract?

In making a contract of this sort they were obliged to furnish the seller with those articles which pleased him most.

Do you know, or not, upon your oath, whether fire arms were, or were not, given by these philanthropic people, and people of worth and integrity?

I believe not in that instance of the sale of the land ; but there were fire arms sent out for trade by the Company.

How was the Council, of which you was a member, to convince this great man, who had no knowledge of geometry, that they had their proper territorial possession of twenty miles square ?

I believe there would have been no possibility of making him acquainted with the quantity of land he had disposed of, but by walking with his Majesty round it.

Did the Council, or any member of the Council, walk with his Majesty round the bounds ?

I believe not.

You have stated that there is a distinction in Slavery in that country ; that there is the domestic Slave, and the Slave for sale,—did you ever know an instance of a domestic Slave being sold, or not ?

I do not recollect an instance.

During your residence at Sierra Leone, were there any Slaves sold to European vessels ?

There were.

Did those merchants who brought down the Slaves express any surprise at your attempting to settle this land with Blacks ?

Yes ; they did.

What were their remarks upon that subject ?

Their opinions generally were, that the experiment would not answer.

Were these Blacks that went out as part of this colony satisfied and happy during your residence there ?

Many of them were dissatisfied, and others expressed a degree of contentment.

Did any of these Free Blacks offer to hire themselves, either to the Whites or to the inhabitants, in order to obtain a livelihood for themselves ?

Most of the Free Blacks followed some profession, such as that of carpenters, ship-builders, and so on. Such of them as were so professionally qualified, hired themselves to the Gentlemen there at a stated price for their labour.

Did the body of these Free Blacks seem to be industrious or not ?

Many of them appeared to be industrious, and many indolent.

Q

Did

Did any one, or any number of these Blacks, apply themselves to the culture of the earth?

Several cultivated small spots of ground in the way of gardens.

Do you know whether the Slave Trade is carried on generally along the coast of Africa?

I believe it is carried on from Senegal all along the coast of Angola; perhaps further.

Have you any reason to believe that the Black Traders for Slaves travel along the coast to the different stations which the European Vessels frequent?

A Slave Captain whom I have conversed with, while he lay in Sierra Leone river, informed me, that in the month of February, when he was at Senegal, he purchased a lot of Slaves from a Black Dealer, who had marched these Slaves down the country towards the sea shore.—In September or October of the same year, when he was down upon the coast of Angola for the same purpose, he told me he met with the same Black Dealer, of whom he purchased another lot.

State the distance between the two places, if you can?

I do not perfectly recollect the distance, but I believe that Angola is as far beyond the line to the south, as Senegal is to the north. It was in conversing with this captain about slavery predominating generally over Africa, that he related this story; and the conclusion he drew from it was this;—that the place from whence this Slave Dealer marched down his lots of Slaves to the sea coast, must be a place very interior in the continent of Africa.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Die Veneris, 10^o Maij 1793.

THE Order of the Day being read, for taking further into Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade, and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Agents of the West India Colonies to be heard by their Counsel, in Support of their Petition against the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

The Counsel were called in.

Then JAMES COCKS Esq. was again called in.

Examined by the Lords.

You said you never heard of such a practice as kidnapping, nor of villages broken up, existing on the part of the Coast about which you were giving evidence,—have you ever heard of those things on other parts of the Coast?

The only time that I have ever heard of them has been in this country; I never heard of any instance of it being related while I was at Sierra Leone.

Relate the instances you heard in this country?

I cannot recollect the particular instance.

You mentioned that certain Blacks who went out seven years ago were sold as Slaves,—do you mean that they were so sold by the Sierra Leone Company, or by whom sold?

I only meant to say, in the former part of my evidence, that some of them had been seized on by the Natives, and sold as Slaves.

Not by the Company?

Not by the Company; the spirit of the Company is very different from that.

You

You are understood to have said on Friday last, that the country about Sierra Leone is exceedingly woody—all wood.

I did so.

Are you acquainted with the Bulan Coast—the opposite Coast?

I have just visited the Bulan shore once; from that visit only I cannot form an opinion of that shore.

Is there not much clear ground on that side of the river?

Where I landed there was none.

You are understood to have mentioned that musquets were an article of trade with the Natives—between the Sierra Leone Settlement and the Natives?

Some chests of musquets were sent out as part of the cargo of one of the ships freighted by the Sierra Leone Company, and some part of these musquets were intended as articles of trade;—we, the Council, so understood it.

Did you see these musquets?

No, the chests were not opened; I only read it in the Invoice.

What ship was that?

The Harpy. I think the Harpy.

You went yourself to Sierra Leone in the Harpy?

Yes.

Do you know the number of musquets that were sent out by the Harpy?

I really cannot recollect.

Within half a hundred?

Perhaps three or four hundred stand of musquets; but the major part of these musquets were intended for the service of the settlers by way of defence.

What is the plan of military defence in Sierra Leone?

The plan of military defence, as there was no fortification erected of any consequence, the only plan of defence to be adopted was to patrol the settlement in the night time, and to spread the alarm in case there was any occasion for it.

Was it not by an armed militia?

The Council had received instructions from the Directors at home to form a militia, but the settlers had been so much employed

ployed in erecting their houses before the rain set in, at which period I left Sierra Leone, that there was not time to form a militia.

But the means of defence was to be by a militia?

Yes; by a militia, together with a small company of men sent out as soldiers for the purpose only of defence.

Whether the musquets sent to the Settlement were more than sufficient to arm the militia?

I do not know that they were more than sufficient.

You know nothing of the quality of the musquets—what they were worth a-piece—were they worth a guinea, or five and twenty shillings?

I believe I can judge in some degree of the quality, although I never saw them, because I have seen the prices of those articles affixed to them in the invoice.

What was the lowest of those prices?

Perhaps the prices were from twelve shillings to twenty shillings of the musquets for trade—I should think so.

You have stated the prices of these fire arms that were intended for trade,—was there a greater quantity of the fire arms intended for trade than were intended by the original promoters of this Settlement for the purpose of defence?

To the best of my recollection there went out in the Harpy more musquets intended for defence than for trade; what subsequent vessels might have taken out I cannot tell.

Do you know of any instance, during your residence there, of the fire arms that were carried out for the intention of defence being sold to the Natives?

I do not recollect any instance of it.

During your residence at Sierra Leone, was you at all acquainted with the history of a White man, by name Mercer?

When I was at Sierra Leone I was informed that, in the year 1779, a person named Mercer, who had for some time a factory established at Tagrene Point, in Sierra Leone river, had his factory invaded one night by the Natives, and plundered of all his property, to the amount, as I heard, of four or five thousand pounds; a property which he had accumulated there by dint of industry.

Was this White man murdered or not by the Natives?

He was not murdered, he narrowly escaped with his life, and took refuge on board of some Slave ship, as I understood, that then lay in Sierra Leone river.

What was the general reason given for the conduct of the Natives towards this White man?

I never heard that any previous difference or misunderstanding had subsisted between him and the Natives: it was generally ascribed to the wanton rapacity of the Natives.

Was this circumstance of their wanton rapacity well known to have taken place?

It was notorious.

Do you imagine that, after such an instance as this of Mercer's, there can be any security to any set of persons attempting to carry on any Settlement in that part of Africa?

I should think that the Natives, induced by the hope of plunder, if they had it in their power, would, in certain cases, have recourse to the same violence upon similar establishments.

What do you mean by, 'in certain cases?'

I mean, if the object to be attained by this rapacious disposition was greater than the risk they ran in aiming at it.

From the knowledge you have acquired of the state of the people on the coast of Africa, has your aversion to the Slave Trade encreased or diminished?

Am I to understand, from my knowledge of the present state of Slavery in Africa, or from my general observations upon it?

From your observation in general?

I confess that my aversion to the Slave Trade was lessened in proportion as I became acquainted with their actual condition in Slavery.

You having stated that your aversion to the Slave Trade was diminished, do you conceive that there has been any false representation made concerning Slavery in this country?

I confess that I was disappointed in not having found these representations concerning Slavery realized, when I became acquainted with the actual condition of Slaves in Africa.

In the district of land ceded by the King to the Settlers, were there any villages or towns on that spot of ground?

There were several native villages included within that district.

What effect had this cession on the native villages?

I do not think that the inhabitants of these villages understood the purchase of this district by the Sierra Leone Company.

Were those villages fixed places of abode, or were they transient hoards of uncivilized Blacks?

They appeared to be the fixed residence of those Blacks.

Did the inhabitants of those villages appear to be satisfied or dissatisfied with the residence of these new settlers?

I did not observe any appearance on the part of those inhabitants, one way or the other.

Did the Council at Sierra Leone ever receive instructions to discontinue the Slave Trade?

Am I to understand in that district, or all over Africa?

In that district?

I believe they did.—I think they did.

Could they effect it?

No; I am persuaded they could not, if they had attempted it.

Do you imagine that the news of the abolition of the Trade would be agreeable or disagreeable to the Natives of Africa?

When I was in Africa I took some pains to know how they would receive the news of the abolition; and most of my enquiries confirmed me in the belief that the news would not be acceptable.

Would the Free Blacks at Sierra Leone, the Natives, hire themselves to work for the new settlers?

Several of them were hired at a stated price of labour when I was at Sierra Leone.

What was the price?

It was from four to six bars a month.

Is that a coin?

A bar is averaged at 3 s. 4 d. A bar is an imaginary value of goods carried out for the trade to Africa.

Do rum and musquets consist in those articles?

Certainly.

Can you speak positively to rum and musquets having been delivered for the price of labour to the Free Blacks?

Rum

Rum has been delivered ; and if a native had engaged to work, or, I mean, had proposed, as the price of labour, musquets in return, we surely would have furnished them.

Did these Free People work well or ill ?

I cannot say that they were steady at all to labour.

How did the Free Blacks that were carried out as settlers work ?
Such as were mechanics seemed to be industrious, but many of the others appeared to be as indolent.

Were the mechanic Blacks the natives of America, or were they Black that had been brought from the coast of Africa ?

Very few of them, I believe, were natives of Africa.

Does the Black born in America appear more industrious than the Black born in Africa ?

Those who were brought up in America have been more inured to habits of industry, and were therefore more industrious.

Can you state the sum of money expended by the Company previous to your leaving the coast ?

I really am not acquainted with the finances of the Company, and cannot accurately state it.

Do you conceive it to be a large sum ?

I should think a considerable sum has been expended, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the extent of it.

Has the Company hitherto reaped any benefit from this great expence ?

I cannot say what benefit they may have reaped since I left Sierra Leone.

Did the Natives continue still to sell Slaves to the European vessels that came there ?

Yes, they did ; such as had Slaves to dispose of.

Was you in any other part of Africa ?

I have been at the Banana Islands, about ten degrees south of Sierra Leone.

Was you there for any time ?

Only for two days.

Are those islands in the hands of the English, or in the hands of the Portuguese ?

They

They are in the hands of a person of the name of Cleveland, who is descended from English parents.

In whose employ is he?

I believe the islands are exclusively his property.

He carries on the Slave Trade?

Yes; he carries on the Slave Trade.

Did you come straight home from that Coast, or not?

Straight home from Sierra Leone river.

You are understood to say that the aversion to the Slave Trade which you carried out with you to Sierra Leone was very much lessened by the knowledge that you acquired there of the condition of the Slaves in Africa;—are you understood rightly?

Yes.

You, to be sure, know the distinction between the domestic Slave and the saleable Slave?

Perfectly.

Was it from your observation of the condition of the domestic Slave that you was brought into a good opinion of the Slave Trade, or that your aversion was lessened?

I cannot say that ever I had a good opinion of the Slave Trade.

Whether it was from your observation of the condition of the domestic Slave that your aversion to the Slave Trade has diminished?

Both from considering the condition of Slaves attached immediately to the household of the master, and from the condition of Slaves retained in the factories for the purposes of trade.

The latter are the Slaves of Europeans, are they not?

They are the Slaves of all dealers who trade in Slaves.

The latter therefore is a species of Slavery that would not exist if there were no Slave Trade?

Certainly not.

Then, whether the condition of the domestic Slave is miserable in Africa?

Certainly not.

The condition then of the domestic Slave would not have diminished, in your mind, your aversion to the Slave Trade?

It certainly would, because I was disappointed in finding them

so well cared for—so well taken care of; probably I have misconceived the question in some respect.

By the domestic Slave is meant the Native African who is a Slave to an African, a Negro who is a Slave to a Negro as his domestic Slave—not saleable?

The condition of a domestic Slave, when I became acquainted with it, was such as to diminish my aversion to the Slave Trade.

Explain why it had that effect?

Because I went out to Africa persuaded that the condition of all Slaves was miserable indeed—that aversion of course lessened as I became acquainted with their condition, which was not miserable.

You said that you took some pains to enquire whether the news of the abolition of the Trade would be acceptable to the Natives of Africa,—of whom did you make these enquiries—of what sort of people?

Of such as could speak a little English; persons upon the sea coast who had been in habits of intercourse with the English.

They are chiefly Black Traders?

They are Black Traders, and not only Black Traders, but also persons living in the villages about Sierra Leone.

Persons in those places where gain is derived from the Trade? Where the Slave Trade is carried on.

Whether you know, in point of fact, that a hired Negro was ever paid for his labour with a musquet by the Sierra Leone Company?

Not that I recollect.

You have stated that you do not know of any instance of a musquet having been absolutely given for hire?

I have stated that.

Do you imagine that there was any prohibition whatever to fire arms being given for service to such Negroes?

There was no such prohibition existing.

If any Negro had asked for such a thing, do you conceive it would have been refused, or not?

It certainly would not have been refused if the time of his labour had been the equivalent of a musquet.

In what manner was the agreement then made for the labour ?

They laboured at a stated hire, and when they had occasion for the price of their labour, they were paid in those articles which the stores contained.

Were there musquets in those stores ?

I believe there were none carried on shore when I left Sierra Leone.

How came these musquets not to be carried on shore before you left Sierra Leone ?

A complete and safe storehouse was not then built, therefore a small part only of the cargo of the ships was taken on shore.

Did you and the rest of the Council therefore imagine danger would ensue if they had landed these fire arms previous to a safe place being procured for them ?

I confess it was my opinion, as a member of the Council, that it was not safe to carry arms ashore ; exposed, perhaps, to the rapacity of people with whose dispositions we were but little acquainted.

The witness was directed to withdraw.

Then Mr. KNOX was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows :

How many voyages have you made to Africa ?

Ten in the course of the last nineteen years.

In what capacity during that time ?

The first six as surgeon, and the last four as master.

To what part of Africa did you go ?

To the Windward Coast, particularly that part of it distinguished by the name of the Grain Coast, and the Coast of Angola.

Is the Windward or Grain Coast populous, or otherwise ?

So far as my observation extends, which is but a very small way inland, very populous indeed.

Is Slavery universally known in every part of Africa with which you have had opportunities of becoming acquainted ?

Universally known, I believe.

Do

Do the Africans themselves use domestic Slaves wherever you have been ?

They do wherever I have had an opportunity of knowing the fact.

Do you understand Slavery to have existed in Africa from the most remote antiquity, or to have been adopted in consequence of the Trade with Europeans for Slaves ?

From every account which I have been able to collect from the Natives, and there are no other authorities in that country, I understand it has been the practice from the earliest times.

Have you any reason to suppose that wars are ever made for the purpose of procuring a greater supply of Slaves ?

I never knew an instance of the kind.

Did any war ever happen during any time when you were in Africa ?

I have known several depredations committed by one man upon the family of another, but I never knew a single Slave procured thereby.

Have you ever known or heard of any instances of kidnapping, or of breaking up villages for the purpose of making Slaves of the inhabitants ?

I never knew of either one or the other.

Has the Slave Trade diminished or encreased since your first knowledge of it ?

If I am to judge by the population of the country, which, so far as my observation extends, I think is rather increased, I should conceive it is nearly in the same situation as the first time I knew Africa.

Continuing in the same situation,—has the price of Slaves increased or diminished ?

Upon the peace of 1783 the price of Slaves on the Coast of Angola encreased fully as three to one ; in most other places that I am acquainted with, particularly the Grain Coast, nearly one half.

To what has the encrease of price been owing ?

To a competition of foreign nations, particularly the French.

How often have you been in the West Indies ?

Ten times of course.

Are

Are the Slaves in Africa, or the Slaves in the West Indies, all circumstances considered, in the most eligible situation?

Judging from appearances I am convinced, in my own mind, that the Negroes in the West Indies are more eligibly situated than those who have fallen under my view in Africa.

What are the natural productions of the Grain Coast?

The river Sherbro on the north-west produces some cam wood, the south-east extremity of this district Malaquetta pepper;—the whole of the district rice, and some little ivory.

Could the trade in these articles be extended beyond what it is at present?

I apprehend not; we at present give them every encouragement which the several articles will bear, and were the Slave Trade to be abolished, I apprehend the ivory trade would diminish very greatly.

What opportunity have you had of knowing the coast of Angola?

Three voyages; the half of the first, and the whole of the two last, constantly on shore.

Can you state the number of Slaves annually exported from that coast?

There are four principal marts of trade in what is denominated Angola—that called Malimbo I entirely allude to. In the year 1784, in the month of February, it was currently reported upon the hill where the trade is made, that the French alone purchased 2,000 Negroes, the English during that time perhaps might purchase 300.

Examined by the Lords.

You are understood to say that your observation extended a very little way inland?

A very little way inland, and in the place I allude to, that little was perhaps further than any European ever went.

What might that distance be?

Not more, I suppose, than thirty miles.

On what part of the coast?

It is indispensibly necessary to attend precisely to the part of the coast;—the part I allude to was Cape Mount upon the Grain Coast.

T

When

When you said that wars were not made to get Slaves, that you never knew of kidnapping or breaking up of villages, you would be understood to speak within the distance to which your observation extended inland?

I can only mean that distance in point of observation, but in point of information I extend it a very great way.

Will you mention what those appearances were from which as you said you judge the condition of the Negro Slave in the West Indies to be happier than in his own country?

In Africa the life and sustenance of the Negro are, in some measure, at the mercy of the owner; and the whole natives subject to all the miseries of uncivilized life; while, on the contrary, in the West Indies I have ever observed the Negroes, for moderate labour, enjoy every reasonable degree of happiness.

When you say that the life and sustenance of the African Negro in Africa is at the will of the master, you speak of the domestic Slave; you know the distinction to be sure between the domestic and saleable Slave?

I really, in the district that I allude to, scarce understood the difference between the domestic and saleable Slave;—the domestic Slave to-day is in the field to-morrow;—and the field Slave to-day is in the house to-morrow.

You are not aware of, or do not know the distinction between saleable Slaves, and Slaves that are removeable property?

I am perfectly aware of the difference between what can, and what cannot be sold.

Is it with respect to those that cannot be sold that you say that their sustenance and life is at the disposal of their master?

I mean those.

Are they worked harder in Africa than in the West Indies?

The female part of the Negroes in Africa, who are the most abject slaves of slaves, most assuredly do.

You stated that you were a certain number of voyages surgeon? Yes;—six.

And four others as captain?

Yes.

Upon the passage from the coast of Africa to the West Indies were they in general healthy or sickly in all the ten voyages?

It is impossible to give a general answer to that question. In those voyages in which I was surgeon I do not in any one voyage recollect

recollect the mortality ; but if it is necessary, I shall state the mortality correctly in those voyages when I was master.

How come you not to be able to state the mortality in those voyages when you was surgeon ?

Merely from the lapse of time.

Have you, during the various voyages you have made, ever happened by chance to receive a male or female Slave on board who was sick ?

Many.

Is it customary in the Slave Trade to refuse to take on board a Slave who has an epidemical distemper, which may cause infection amongst the rest of the Slaves ?

Most assuredly it is customary to refuse them if the complaint is known.

Is it customary when a lot of slaves is purchased that the state of their health is examined ?

Very particularly so ;—individually.

Has the surgeon, as well as the captain, any per centage on the sale of the Slaves in the West Indies ?

Almost the whole of the captain's emoluments—

The question is as to the surgeon ; has the surgeon as well as the captain any emolument per centage ?

The surgeon's emoluments, so far as ever I knew, was not a per centage, except so much head money for every one that was sold.

State the mortality during the four voyages you made as master ?

The first voyage I had 450 Negroes,—I lost 17 or 18. The second about 360, in the same vessel ;—from the uncommon detention upon the coast, where the scurvy got amongst the Negroes, I lost 40. The third voyage, with near 300, I lost only one. And the last voyage, with 450, I lost five.

What is the average of the passage ?

I never was more than seven weeks,—and the last time I made it in eighteen days.

To what island ?

Dominique.

On what occasion was you so particularly detained when you lost those forty Negroes ?

From

From the vast number of French vessels at the same mart of Trade.

Are the Slaves well fed on their passage?
Most assuredly.

Is there an hospital or a place appropriated for the sick whilst on board?

Constantly; in every vessel in which I have been.

Are the provisions for the use of the Negroes similar to those they have in their native country?

If I may judge from the appearance of the majority of the Negroes who come into our possession from the interior parts, the provision on board of a ship is infinitely preferable.

What sort of provisions have they in general?

That depends entirely upon the part of Africa from whence they are brought; the Grain Coast furnishes rice, palm oil, pepper.

What provisions?

Rice is the staple article; in other parts of Africa yams are the principal article of food; and in others Indian corn constitutes a good share of it.

You have mentioned pepper,—is that given frequently to the Slaves on their passage, or not?

As often as they are served with victuals.

To what part of the West Indies have you in general traded?

To the Grenades, Dominique, Tortola, Jamaica.

To what island have you chiefly gone?

Dominique.

At the island of Dominique, who are the chief purchasers of those Slaves, the English, or foreign nations?

The factors who purchased from the shipping were all English.

Have you reason to believe that those factors sold those Slaves again to Foreigners, or not, as the port of Dominique is a free port?

I believe nineteen out of twenty were sold to Foreigners again—perhaps a much greater proportion.

Are you thoroughly acquainted with the bearings of the different islands from one another, so as to be able to form an opinion relative to the difficulty or easy access to those islands?

I believe I can give a pretty near account of the bearings of most of them.

Do you therefore imagine that it would be a practicable and an easy thing to smuggle any number of Slaves into the island of Dominique, if the bringing of Slaves into that island were contraband?

I conceive, nothing more easy.

Do you conceive the island of Antigua could be in the same manner, and under the same circumstances, equally assisted from the island of Gaudalupe?

Most assuredly.

The island of Barbadoes from the island of Gaudalupe likewise?

And better still from Tobago.

The islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and St. Vincent, from Tobago?

Most undoubtedly; almost before the wind.

The island of St. Christophers and Nevis, and the Virgin islands from St. Eustatius?

The passage from St. Eustatius to St. Kits might be run over in an hour, or nearly so; and all the rest might be amply supplied from St. Eustatius.

The island of Jamaica from the islands of Cuba and St. Domingo?

Most undoubtedly they might.

You have said that you do not recollect what the mortality was when you was surgeon,—do you mean by that, that you do not recollect correctly, or that you recollect nothing at all about it?

I can affix no precise number to any one of those voyages, I think, but the last; and that not with a great degree of certainty to myself.

Whether the mortality was greater or less in proportion than in the other four voyages when you went as master, though you cannot mention any particulars?

It would be indispensibly necessary for me to know what the mortality was before I could draw a comparison.

What diseases are most incident to the Slaves in the Middle Passage?

The flux, I conceive, to be by far the most prevalent disease.

U

Is

Is not that greatly exaggerated by their state of confinement ?

I cannot suppose it is ; a complaint no sooner makes the most remote approach, but the Negro is liberated from his irons ; and in the four voyages, when I was master, I never carried a Slave in irons to the West Indies.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel for the Petitioners informed the House, they had now closed their evidence upon the Petition of the African Company, except the Charters, which they should deliver in ; and, with the leave of the House, would next proceed upon the Petition of the West India Planters.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Die Mercurii, 22° Maij 1793.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking further into Consideration the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and also the Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Trade, and the general State and Condition of the West India Islands, and the Means of improving the same; and for the Lords to be summoned; and for the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, interested in the British Sugar Colonies, to be heard by their Counsel at the Bar of the House in Support of their Petition, presented to the House on the 14th of May 1792:

The Counsel were called in.

Then JOHN WEDDERBURN Esq. was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Are you a Native of Great Britain?

Yes.

Have you ever resided in Jamaica?

I have.

For what length of time?

I arrived in Jamaica about the middle of the year 1762, and remained in it till the first of May 1789.

What was your employment in that island?

The planting business.

Have you any property there?

I have.

Of what nature?

A sugar estate.

Had you the care of any plantations there besides your own?

I had, of many.

What

What number of Negroes may have been under your care in Jamaica?

During my residence in Jamaica I had the direction and management of full 6,000 Negroes.

Are the Negroes in that island generally treated with tenderness and humanity?

I am decidedly of opinion that they are.

Are the comforts that those Negroes enjoy equal to the comforts that are enjoyed by ordinary labourers in other countries?

I think they are fully as much so as the lower class of people in Great Britain.

Have the Negroes lands allotted them for their private purposes?

They have; and upon many estates much more than they can make any use of.

Have the Negroes any sufficient portion of time allowed them for the cultivation of those lands?

They have one day in every fortnight, crop time excepted; and through the course of the year different days are allowed them conformably to what their master or overseer may think requisite.

Are Negroes permitted to acquire personal property?

They are.

What is the nature of the property they usually possess?

Every industrious Negro has much more provisions than it is possible for him to make use of:—They have also poultry, hogs, fruits, and provisions of different kinds, which they carry to market for sale. And I have likewise known, upon different properties, Negroes possess from ten to twenty or thirty head of stock. And I have myself, upon different occasions, purchased from the Negroes young steers, and have paid for them at the rate of from ten to thirteen pounds a head. These stock are fed and taken care of along with their master's; and in every respect taken equal care of.

Is the property of Negroes respected and protected; or is it at any time violated by their masters?

I never knew an instance of their masters taking any of their property from them without paying very sufficiently for it.

From your acquaintance with the state of cultivation in that island, do you think it can be kept up without an annual supply of fresh Negroes?

I do

I do not think it is possible that the present cultivation can be kept up without an importation of Negroes ; and as to all further improvements they must cease.

Are you able to compute the annual decrease or diminution of the number of Negroes upon the whole ?

I am decidedly of opinion that they are from two and a half to three per cent.

To what causes is that decrease principally attributable ?

To a variety of causes : First, the disproportion of the sexes, which, I imagine, is five males to three females, of the African Negroes imported into that country ; next, the very free intercourse between the sexes, which they consider to be their absolute right. A remarkable saying grows up with them from their infancy, which is, they allow that their master has every right to direct them in their labour as he thinks proper ; but they unanimously declare that he has no right to controul their amours. There are likewise very severe disorders that the Negroes are liable to, such as the yaws, pleurifies ; there is the cocabee, and the elephantiasis ; these two last I never knew thoroughly cured. There have been vast numbers lost owing to hurricanes, and the consequences arising from them, scarcity of provisions. Upon the estate where I resided in the year 1780, there were fifteen Negroes killed outright in one building ; a number of lives were lost at Savannah La Mar ; and in one house only, from twenty-five to thirty were carried away by the sea.

Are young children subject to any particular disorder which is injurious to the population of the country ?

They are.

What is that disorder ?

The locked jaw, of which, I am of opinion, one fourth that are born die within a fortnight.

What is the nature of the complaint called Dirt-eating ?

It is of two different kinds ; the one proceeds from what is called the Heart-burn.—They make use of fullers earth, dried and parched over the fire, in the same manner as magnesia or chalk is made use of in this country.—I have likewise known ill-disposed Negroes, that were not inclined to labour in any respect, take to eating of dirt, and eat such considerable quantities of it that it has been the occasion of their death.

What number of Negroes may have been under your care in Jamaica?

During my residence in Jamaica I had the direction and management of full 6,000 Negroes.

Are the Negroes in that island generally treated with tenderness and humanity?

I am decidedly of opinion that they are.

Are the comforts that those Negroes enjoy equal to the comforts that are enjoyed by ordinary labourers in other countries?

I think they are fully as much so as the lower class of people in Great Britain.

Have the Negroes lands allotted them for their private purposes?

They have; and upon many estates much more than they can make any use of.

Have the Negroes any sufficient portion of time allowed them for the cultivation of those lands?

They have one day in every fortnight, crop time excepted; and through the course of the year different days are allowed them conformably to what their master or overseer may think requisite.

Are Negroes permitted to acquire personal property?

They are.

What is the nature of the property they usually possess?

Every industrious Negro has much more provisions than it is possible for him to make use of:—They have also poultry, hogs, fruits, and provisions of different kinds, which they carry to market for sale. And I have likewise known, upon different properties, Negroes possess from ten to twenty or thirty head of stock. And I have myself, upon different occasions, purchased from the Negroes young steers, and have paid for them at the rate of from ten to thirteen pounds a head. These stock are fed and taken care of along with their master's; and in every respect taken equal care of.

Is the property of Negroes respected and protected; or is it at any time violated by their masters?

I never knew an instance of their masters taking any of their property from them without paying very sufficiently for it.

From your acquaintance with the state of cultivation in that island, do you think it can be kept up without an annual supply of fresh Negroes?

I do

I do not think it is possible that the present cultivation can be kept up without an importation of Negroes ; and as to all further improvements they must cease.

Are you able to compute the annual decrease or diminution of the number of Negroes upon the whole ?

I am decidedly of opinion that they are from two and a half to three per cent.

To what causes is that decrease principally attributable ?

To a variety of causes : First, the disproportion of the sexes, which, I imagine, is five males to three females, of the African Negroes imported into that country ; next, the very free intercourse between the sexes, which they consider to be their absolute right. A remarkable saying grows up with them from their infancy, which is, they allow that their master has every right to direct them in their labour as he thinks proper ; but they unanimously declare that he has no right to controul their amours. There are likewise very severe disorders that the Negroes are liable to, such as the yaws, pleurifies ; there is the cocabee, and the elephantiasis ; these two last I never knew thoroughly cured. There have been vast numbers lost owing to hurricanes, and the consequences arising from them, scarcity of provisions. Upon the estate where I resided in the year 1780, there were fifteen Negroes killed outright in one building ; a number of lives were lost at Savannah La Mar ; and in one house only, from twenty-five to thirty were carried away by the sea.

Are young children subject to any particular disorder which is injurious to the population of the country ?

They are.

What is that disorder ?

The locked jaw, of which, I am of opinion, one fourth that are born die within a fortnight.

What is the nature of the complaint called Dirt-eating ?

It is of two different kinds ; the one proceeds from what is called the Heart-burn.—They make use of fullers earth, dried and parched over the fire, in the same manner as magnesia or chalk is made use of in this country.—I have likewise known ill-disposed Negroes, that were not inclined to labour in any respect, take to eating of dirt, and eat such considerable quantities of it that it has been the occasion of their death.

What number of Negroes is usually employed about the house of the overseer in domestic business?

About eight or ten.

In the selection of Negroes for domestic employments,—is there any attention paid to the strength of the constitution of the Negro, and his ability to endure field labour?

In general the people that are employed about the overseer's house are, many of them, not fit for field labour.

Is there any attention paid in selecting them on that account?

There is:—I have known different Negroes employed in that manner for no other reason but not having constitutions to undergo the field labour.

Do you know whether the plow has been used with effect upon many estates in Jamaica?

There are a variety of opinions in regard to the plow: some think it is prejudicial in that country.—I have seen it tried upon many estates under my own directions, and, as far as I was capable of judging, it is of great service, by taking off the hardest part of the labour from the Negroes; yet a great deal remains for them to do with the hoe, such as digging and cleaning out the trenches, making the cane holes, and planting them. It has been supposed that the plow would occasion a less number of Negroes to be necessary upon a sugar estate for conducting the business of it, but I am decidedly of opinion that this is not the case;—the number of Negroes will be absolutely requisite to take off the crop in the proper season of the year.

Is particular dispatch necessary in getting the crop off the ground in the proper season?

So much so, that unless it is taken off in a proper season of the year the canes are lost, or make very little.

In what soils and situations can the plow be used with the best effect?

There is a great part of the island of Jamaica that the plow can be of no service to: first, from the make of the land, it being so very hilly and steep;—there are also many thousand acres of canes intermixed with stones and rocks, so that they could not plow the soil; and many different estates are cultivated in such a manner that they do not stock up the canes, but continue to cut them from year to year;—upon such properties the plow is of no use.

Does

Does property of this description constitute any considerable proportion of the land in Jamaica?

I cannot say the exact proportion, but I know there are considerable estates in that situation.

Could any considerable proportion of the patented land, which has not already been brought into cultivation, be brought into cultivation with good effect?

Many thousand acres are very fit for grass farms, coffee, and sugar.

Can those patented lands that you mention be brought into this cultivation, of which you have stated them to be capable, without a further importation of Negroes?

They cannot: so far from this being the case, many small and new settlements now in that country, I am of opinion, must be given up; the richer Planters will buy the Slaves, and the land will grow up into woods.

What attention is paid to the health of the Negroes, particularly the health of the pregnant women, in Jamaica?

There are, no doubt, instances of neglect; but I am decidedly of opinion that in general they are taken exceeding good care of. They are attended by a doctor, and medicines are kept upon many estates; where they are not, the doctor supplies them, and whatever he directs to be administered to them they generally get. I myself have served many Negroes from the table, as soon as I had done dinner, with plenty of good fresh provisions;—flour, rice, wine, and such like articles, are allowed them upon many occasions.

Is any proportion of labour remitted to them as they advance in their pregnancy?

With regard to the pregnant women, I know nothing that the Planters are more anxious about than raising children. Some short time after it is known that the women are pregnant, they are carried from the hardest labour to what is more easy; and in general, from two to three months before their delivery, their labour is no more than what is necessary and conducive to health, and recommended by the doctor. With regard to punishments, there may be improper acts of that kind, but I believe very few:—the common punishment is confinement and the stocks. I have known many of them when they have been five or six months gone with child take every advantage to do no kind of labour, and upon such like occasions it is that they are confined in the stocks.

Is it in your judgment practicable to carry on the cultivation of the island of Jamaica by European labour only?

I am decidedly of opinion it is impossible; particularly from what I have observed: The plowmen sent from Great Britain to that country being so compleatly fatigued with the management of the plow, that they were perfectly unequal to the common field labour.

Does the heat of the sun appear to be prejudicial to the health of the Negroes employed in field labour?

By no means. I have for many hours, year after year, stood in the field along with the Negroes, seen them at labour; and I never knew an instance of the Negroes complaining of the heat, unless they were sick.

What number of hours are the Negroes usually required to labour?

As far as I am capable of judging, if you take the year round, and make the necessary deductions for the many hours of excessive heavy rains, at which time they do not labour, I judge they may labour from nine to ten hours in the twenty-four, crop time excepted.

What number of hours do they labour in crop time?

That depends upon the number of Slaves upon the estate.

Are there any particular indulgences allowed them to compensate their encreased labour at crop time?

Upon some estates the Negroes are obliged to sit up one night in every three; upon other property one night in every two; but at this season of the year, although it is the hardest time of their labour, they are certainly then in best health and best spirits, which proceeds from the quantity of sugar cane they eat, and the liquor they drink; and now and then they no doubt get a little of the sugar.

It need hardly be asked after that, whether the sugar cane is very salubrious diet for the Negroes?

There is no doubt of it. As to the liquor, they get just as much of it as they chuse to drink.

Have they at other seasons any allowances of sugar and rum made them when at work?

In the time of holing and planting they have very liberal allowances of sugar, upon most estates;—but upon many, of rum also.

Is the food of the Negroes in general good in its quality, and sufficient in its quantity?

The food is good and plenty, except in scarce times, such as hurricanes and storms, and then every thing that is possible is done to procure it.

Are they allowed any particular indulgence in respect of diet, or any changes of diet, at particular seasons of the year.

Particularly at Christmas time they are allowed salt-fish, and upon many estates they kill one or two steers, which are divided amongst them. Herrings are generally served them once a fortnight or three weeks, according to the quantity that they may have each time.

What attention is paid to the health and accommodation of sick Negroes?

They are very well lodged, and very well taken care of.—This question I consider partly answered before, as far as respects pregnant women.

Are the sick Negroes set apart from the rest of the Negroes in any particular building appropriated for the purpose?

Certainly: they are lodged in what is called a Hot House, an hospital built for the purpose, which almost every estate has;—indeed I never knew any without conveniencies of that kind—some are very good, some are not so good.

What attention is paid to Negroes when by age or infirmities they become incapable of active labour?

Some of them are employed in their own grounds as watchmen; others are employed in catching rats, making ropes, pads, rat traps, and watching gates, and when they are unfit for such offices they live in their own houses; and in such cases, when they are entirely unfit for any kind of labour, they continue to receive every allowance from their master the same as they did in former days.

Did you, during the period of near thirty years which you have resided in Jamaica, ever know a single instance of any Slave become unable to work from age or infirmity being discarded by his master?

I never knew an instance of it.

Do you conceive that the abolition of the Slave Trade would be an agreeable circumstance to the Negroes already employed in Jamaica?

Y

Very

Very much the reverse; for nothing gives them greater pleasure than to see new Negroes brought amongst them.

Would the abolition of the Slave Trade be the means of making the Negroes that are already in Jamaica be better treated?

I think very much the reverse.

Upon what account?

It is well known that many of the planters are considerably indebted to the British merchants; they have no mode of paying them but by the returns of their property;—deprive them of the necessary people for carrying on the cultivation of the estate, and it will be impossible for them to make good their engagements. Upon such an occasion it is more than probable that the Negroes upon the property would be obliged to work much harder than they do at present;—not from the choice of the master, but from the situation he would be then placed in.

What would the effect of such over-work be?

In the course of a few years, I suppose, many estates would be thrown up altogether, from the decrease of Negroes that would naturally happen.

Could the estates which are now cultivated with the sugar cane be conveniently cultivated with coffee or cotton; or made to produce coffee or cotton?

Very few if any;—but suppose they were, what would become of the very expensive buildings, and many articles of plantation stores sent from this country for the express purpose of cultivating sugar, which would be an entire loss to the proprietors.

What effect would the abolition of the Slave Trade, in your judgment, have upon the situation of the planters?

In the course of some years it would be the means of many thousand acres that are now cultivating growing up into wood, and they would be perfectly unable to pay many of their debts that are due to people in this country.

What, in your judgment, would be the probable effect of this abolition upon small settlers?

I do imagine many of them would be under the necessity of selling their Slaves to the rich planters;—their land would be of no earthly value to them, and the buildings the same, for without Negroes they could make no use of them.

To what extent do you believe that the farther cultivation of Jamaica would be affected by the abolition of the Slave Trade?

I think,

I think, I have already observed, that it would put a total stop to all farther improvement of that country; and much land that is now in cultivation must be in the state that I have already mentioned.

What effect, in your judgment, would it have upon the defensive strength of that island?

The strength of Jamaica depends upon the militia, which is made up principally of the overseers, book-keepers, carpenters, distillers, and a number of small settlers.—Were such people in that situation that they could not purchase Negroes, they would see an end put to all their improvements, and they would naturally leave the country, and many that are now anxious to go there would certainly remain where they are, or go to some other part of the world, as the only encouragement they can have to go there is to endeavour to make a competence for themselves;—but by depriving them of the purchasing of Negroes, they would have no method of appropriating the little money that from time to time they might save to any advantage.

Is the treatment of the Negroes much improved of late in respect of the persons to whose care the charge of them is immediately committed?

There is no doubt of it: Thirty years ago, or perhaps better than thirty, the people that used to go from this country to Jamaica were of the very lowest and most worthless class; and in many instances it was better to trust Head Negroes than to trust such White People: Latterly, by the encouragement that has been held out to them from the proprietors of estates, there is a vast number of very deserving young men who have gone abroad, and whose temper and conduct is perfectly different towards the Negroes from what the White People's was who went from hence thirty or forty years ago.

Examined by the Lords.

What is the annual cost to the planter of feeding and cloathing a field Negro in Jamaica?

I never sat down to make any computation of it: they are cloathed with Osnaburghs; they have allowances of blue baize for jackets, hats, handkerchiefs, upon many estates, but not upon all.

Is a Creole Negro superior to an African Negro, or an African Negro superior to a Creole Negro?

I am

I am decidedly of opinion that a Creole is more valuable than an African Negro, although I have known many very good people from that country.

Do you know what has been nearly the number of executions in twenty years in Jamaica?

I do not indeed, but I believe very few.

If the property of any Negro should be violated by his master, can he obtain legal redress by the testimony of any number of witnesses of the Black colour?

I never knew one instance of that being the case.

The question was ordered to be read.

The same was accordingly read by the Clerk.

The Witness said,

Against his master, I presume, the question means?

Yes?

I have already stated that I never knew an instance of it, nor do I suppose that the evidence of the Negroes would be taken against their masters.

Can you inform the House how bills are drawn for the payment of the Negroes?

That just depends upon the agreement between the purchaser and the seller.

Are they of long date or short date, or what is the date?

They are at long and short fights.

In general?

In general.

You said you had had the direction of six thousand Negroes?

Full six thousand.

Do you mean at one time?

No; certainly not.

In the thirty years that you resided there?

Not quite thirty, from 1762 to 1789.

You mentioned the proportionable decrease of the Negroes to be from two and a half to three per cent?

In the part of the country in which I lived I am decidedly of opinion it is three per cent.

The average decrease you speak of in the whole country ?

No—three per cent. upon the whole ; in other parishes it is not so much, therefore in some parishes it is more than three.

Then you take three as the average of the whole country ?

Yes.

It is very different upon different plantations ?

It is different upon different plantations, some are more healthy situations than others.

Is not the proportion of the sexes very different upon different plantations ?

I believe it is ?

What may be the rate of decrease where the sexes are nearly equal ?

I really do not know.

You spoke of the protection of Negro property, did you mean protection by the laws ?

I meant, protected by their master ; I never knew an instance of any part of their property being taken from them without a full consideration for it.

You are understood then that the protection you spoke of is not public protection ?

I am at a loss to understand the question.

You were asked, whether the protection was a protection by law, and your answer was, that it was a protection by the master ?

I have stated Negro property to consist of different matters, it is that that I have stated to be under the protection of the master, and I never knew it interfered with. Is it meant the protection of their hogs, the protection of their fowls, of their cattle, of their fruit and provisions, that are under the protection of the law ?

The question is generally with respect to their property in whatever it may consist, whether it be protected by the law ?

I never knew a court of justice applied to for protection of what I have stated. I am really at a loss to answer the question.

You have enumerated various articles of Negro property, and you said of the Negro property in general that it was protected ; what are the means of protection ?

If the question alluded to were turned to I could perhaps clear it up, because I do not understand ‘ articles of their property ;’ if their masters chose to deprive them of it, and the Negroes were to

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apply

apply to a court of justice to direct their master to restore it to them, when I left Jamaica there was no act, that I can recollect, by which the Negro's evidence would have been taken against the master.

Previous therefore to your leaving Jamaica the Negro had no protection for his property against his master?

Such property as I have stated he certainly had not; but as it is natural to suppose every man likes his own interest, it must ever be the interest of the planter to do justice to his Negroes, and therefore all such property was held sacred by the master.

You mentioned the locked jaw as one of the principal causes of the mortality of the infants,—did you ever know any precautions taken to prevent that disorder?

I have.

What were they?

By lodging the women in convenient and proper places, keeping a proper nurse with them, and allowing proper clothes for the infant.

What is the reason that the planters are so desirous to raise children?

I answer, from twenty-seven years experience, that from every thing I could see it is their interest so to do. A Negro born upon the property is attached to it much more than it can be supposed a Negro brought from Africa ever will be, a few cases excepted.

The labour therefore of a Creole Slave is much more valuable than that of an imported Slave?

I consider it so; not but that if you take a Creole Negro and an African Negro of equal age and strength, the labour they will do in the course of the day is of the same value.

The Creole is equally capable of the labour of that climate? Perfectly.

Therefore the country might be cultivated by Creole Slaves, though not by Europeans, if they could be raised in sufficient numbers?

No doubt of it.

When you were asked about the hours of labour, you said that, making allowances for the rainy seasons, the hours of labour upon the average were from nine to ten hours in the twenty-four;—in the rainy seasons they do not work at all?

In the rainy season, when they are at labour, if the rain falls they

they are allowed to go into huts built purposely to protect them from the weather.

What number of hours do they work when not interrupted by the weather?

The days and nights there are pretty equal; they come out in the morning by day-break, and they return home just as it is growing dark, out of which they have time allowed them for their dinner and for their breakfast.

Did you ever know an instance of a male or female Slave complaining of heat?

I never did unless they were sick.

Do you, from your long residence in the island, conceive it possible to keep up the present stock of Slaves in the island of Jamaica, considering the various and precarious accidents that may arise in that country, without an annual importation of Slaves into the island?

It is not possible, as far as I am capable of judging.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Then Admiral PHILLIP AFFLECK was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Have you ever been resident in any of the British West India islands?

I was near three years at Jamaica, being stationed there.

From what period to what period?

From the beginning of July 1789 to the latter end of May 1792.

During your command at Jamaica, did you visit many of the plantations?

I was at several of them in different parts of the island.

Did you visit as well those where the proprietors did not reside, as those where they did?

It was very natural for me to visit those where they did reside, but I visited some where they did not.

Had you opportunities of observing the general treatment of the Slaves upon the several plantations which you saw?

I made my observations wherever I was.

Was

Was that treatment in general mild and humane?

Almost universally,—in general it was,—even paternal, I thought.

Did the health and comfort of the Negro seem to be in general attended to?

Very much so in all the places I visited.

Have you ever seen and examined the hospitals upon any of these plantations?

I visited several, and I prevailed upon some of the gentlemen to alter the word "Hot House," which was the general appellation of them, to that of "Hospital or Infirmary."

Did they appear to be in general well calculated for the reception of the sick.

They were not magnificent buildings, but they were as good as the other buildings which Negroes inhabit in that country;—what I saw I thought were very good, and I saw none but what were thinly inhabited.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed and clothed and lodged?

I do not know how they were fed, but they looked, wherever I was, in good health and in good spirits; and at the time that they worked the hardest they were the fattest.

From the appearance of the Slaves do you conceive that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

I do not think, by any means, it was at any plantations where I was; what may be the case with those men who live by letting out Slaves to work I cannot tell. I do not know whether they may overwork them, or not; but I have hired what they call Job Slaves myself there, to do hedging and ditching and the like, and I thought they never did more work than I paid money for.

Did the Negroes in general appear to be in a desponding state, or satisfied with their condition?

I never saw any signs of despondency, I have seen a great deal of rioting and frolicking among them.

Did they appear in general to be happy or otherwise, comparing their situation with that of the labouring classes of people in other countries which you have seen?

I think by no means inferior in their situation to labouring people in other countries where I have been; but on the contrary,

trary, an emulation between one estate and another, and valuing themselves upon the superiority of the condition of the estate where they worked to that of their neighbours, of which I can give an instance.—While my own house was under repair, I lived for a considerable time at a pen, upon an estate in the same parish, and the Slaves of a neighbouring estate which belonged to the Duke of Chandos, held all the Negroes of the neighbouring plantations almost in contempt, they looked upon themselves so much superior.

Can the plantations in Jamaica be cultivated by European labour only?

It is impossible.

What has been the care taken of children in the several nurseries in the different plantations that you have seen?

I have seen the appearance of the greatest affection and attachment in the children;—I have seen forty or fifty come out upon a plantation where I was, I forget the name it was called by; there were not less than forty or fifty, who, as soon as the master of the estate came within the rail of the place, all ran, calling him Papa, papa, and kissing his knees; how far he might be the papa of any of them I won't pretend to say; I mean to say, that I saw very great care was taken of them.

According to the experience which you have upon the subject, what would be the consequence of the abolition of the Slave Trade with respect to the cultivation of the island of Jamaica?

That is a very extensive question, and which I am not equal to answer; but at the same time I must say, that having considered of the abolition a good deal, I look upon it as impracticable. I have had the care of the coast round to prevent illicit trade, which was one of the articles in my instructions, and I hold it to be impossible to prevent the incursion of vessels in the night from the island of Cuba. It is natural that the Slaves should be imported by the Spaniards if we do not import them ourselves.

Examined by the Lords.

You said that you visited many plantations?

I did.

Did you visit them unexpectedly?

Some of them I did; because some plantations lay in the way to others where I was not expected; but in general I was expected;

A a

because

because one cannot travel about that island without its being known.

The presence of a gentleman of your distinction would be a controul upon the drivers and the overseers?

The drivers are not the people of whom I have been talking; the drivers are only as a man drives a team, the head labourer, the overseer, in the absence of the proprietor, is the man of consequence, for he is the head manager; the deputy of the proprietor I call the overseer, in the absence of the master.

He would naturally take care to keep every thing offensive out of sight when you visited?

It is very natural to suppose that he would have the places, and every thing in very good order.

Was you ever witness to a punishment?

Not to any great punishment. I have seen trifling punishments as I have been riding or walking out in the road in a morning.

You never saw a considerable punishment?

I never saw one greater than a Westminster boy has every now and then.

Was there not a considerable proportion of Creoles on the Duke of Chandos's estate?

I believe it was very well stocked.

With Creoles?

That I do not at all know, I do not know that there were; the manager of it was a monstrous clever fellow, an active little man.

You are understood to have said, that it is impossible to prevent the importation of Slaves into Jamaica?

I mean so; I really think so as a seaman.

It is taken for granted that you mean by means of a fleet of ships upon the coast?

Yes; I speak professionally.

Do you conceive that a fleet ever so large could possibly prevent the running of Negroes into the island of Jamaica?

Certainly not.

Having already stated as a professional man that you conceive that it is impossible to prevent the running of Negroes into the island

island of Jamaica,—do your sentiments professionally apply to the Windward Islands in the same manner?

No; I do not think of the Windward Islands while I am talking of Jamaica. I think the causes from whence the difficulties would arise different; you might prevent ships going there by taking them. But I must beg leave to add to my answer to that question, that, admitting that by well watching the island round with ships and vessels we could prevent the importation, and seize the vessels, what would be done with them; are you to bring them in, and sell them by public sale if they are seized? they are then a capture that must come to the Custom House.

Do you conceive that the different foreign islands to Windward could supply, by small vessels, the British Windward islands with Slaves?

They would certainly very much; those that were contiguous.

Did you use the plow in the island of Jamaica upon your pen, or not?

I attempted it once.

Did it succeed?

I borrowed the plow of my neighbour, and upon a very flat little corn field that I had, it happened to be in the dry season, and with eight steers to a very small plow I broke every thing to pieces, and was forced to go to the hoe after all. But the plow is used in many parts—there are two or three people that use the plow there—and just at the time that the earth is in a proper degree of moisture (if it is too hard or too soft it won't do) the plow is used with success, I believe, in some flat parts of the island.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

Then WILLIAM DUNLOP Esq. was called in, and being sworn, was examined as follows:

Do you know whether any Act of Assembly has been lately passed in Jamaica for the further protection and security of Negro Slaves there?

I understand there was one passed last year.

Have you an office copy of any of the acts that have been recently passed there?

The Witnesses produced a paper, and said;

I know this (producing one) to be the hand writing of the Secretary of the Island of Jamaica; that is the common way of authenticating Acts of Assembly in Jamaica.

Then the paper was delivered in, and read as follows:

“ Jamaica, *ff.*

‘ An act to repeal an act, entitled, “ An act to repeal several
“ acts and clauses of acts respecting Slaves, and for the better
“ order and government of Slaves, and for other purposes;”
‘ and also to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts, which
‘ were repealed by the act entitled as aforesaid; and for con-
‘ solidating, and bringing into one act, the several laws re-
‘ lating to Slaves, and for giving them further protection
‘ and security; for altering the mode of trial of Slaves
‘ charged with capital offences; and for other purposes.’

Preamble.

“ WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of Slaves, should be consolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting Slaves: And whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to Slaves, that the mode of trial of Slaves charged with capital offences should be altered: And whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein-after mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this island, entitled, ‘ An act for regulating servants,’ passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-one; also the 6th clause of an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, entitled, ‘ A supplemental and explanatory act,’ passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-three; also the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, and 49th clauses of one other act of the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly, entitled, ‘ An act for the better order and government of Slaves,’ passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-six; also one other act, entitled, ‘ An act for the
‘ more

' more effectual punishing of crimes committed by Slaves,' passed
 in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seven-
 teen; also one other act, entitled, ' An act for the encourage-
 ment of voluntary parties to suppress rebellious and runaway
 ' Negroes,' passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
 hundred and eighteen; also one other act, entitled, ' An act to
 ' inflict further and other punishments on the transgressors of
 ' two several acts, the one entitled, " An act for the better
 " order and government of Slaves," and the other entitled, " An
 " act to prevent the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the
 " possessors, and for the preventing the transportation of Slaves
 " by mortgagors and tenants for life or years, and for regulating
 " abuses committed by Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord
 one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five; also one other act
 to repeal part of an act, entitled, ' An act for the more effectual
 ' punishment of crimes committed by Slaves, and to oblige the
 ' several parishes to pay for all Negroes executed in each respective
 ' parish,' passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hun-
 dred and forty; also one other act, entitled, ' An act to explain
 ' and amend an act, entitled, " An act for the better order and
 " government of Slaves, and for making free and rewarding a
 " Negro named Hector, belonging to Thomas Fuller Esquire,
 " and paying his said master the value of the said Negro," passed
 in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-
 four; also one other act, entitled, ' An act to inflict further and
 ' other punishments on runaway Slaves, and such as shall enter-
 ' tain them,' passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
 hundred and forty-nine; also one other act to amend an act, en-
 titled, ' An act to repeal part of an act, entitled, " An act for
 " the more effectual punishment of crimes committed by Slaves;
 " and to oblige the several parishes to pay for all Negroes exe-
 " cuted in each respective parish," passed in the said year of our
 Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; also the 6th
 and 7th clauses of an act, entitled, ' An act to prevent the
 ' clandestine killing and marking of cattle, and for the better
 ' regulating of hunting,' passed in the said year of our Lord one
 thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; also one other act, en-
 titled, ' An act to explain an act, entitled, " An act for the
 " better order and government of Slaves, and for inflicting fur-
 " ther and other punishments on persons killing Negroes or
 " Slaves," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
 hundred and fifty-one; also one other act, entitled, ' An act to
 ' remedy the evils arising from irregular assemblies of Slaves, and
 B b ' to

' to prevent their possessing arms and ammunition, and going
 ' from place to place without tickets; and for preventing the
 ' practice of obeah, and to restrain overseers from leaving the
 ' estates under their care on certain days, and to oblige all Free
 ' Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians, to register their names in the
 ' vestry books of the respective parishes of this island, and to
 ' carry about them the certificate, and wear the badge of their
 ' freedom; and to prevent any captain, master, or supercargo,
 ' of any vessel, bringing back Slaves transported off this island,'
 passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and
 sixty; also one other act, entitled, ' An act to explain and amend
 ' an act, entitled, " An act to remedy the evils arising from ir-
 " regular assemblies of Slaves, and to prevent their possessing
 " arms and ammunition, and going from place to place without
 " tickets, and preventing the practice of obeah, and to restrain
 " overseers from leaving the estates under their care on certain
 " days, and to oblige all Free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians,
 " to register their names in the vestry books of the respective
 " parishes of this island, and to carry about them the certificate,
 " and wear the badge of their freedom, and to prevent any cap-
 " tain, master, or supercargo, of any vessel, bringing back
 " Slaves transported off this island," passed in the year of our
 Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one; also one
 other act, entitled, ' An act to repeal an act, entitled, " An act
 " for the more effectual preventing Negroes and other Slaves
 " from deserting from their owners, and departing from this
 " island in a clandestine manner, and to punish such persons
 " as shall be aiding, assisting, or abetting, such Slaves in their
 " escape, and for the more effectual preventing Negroes and
 " other Slaves from deserting from their owners, and departing
 " from this island in a clandestine manner, and to punish such
 " persons as shall be aiding, assisting, or abetting such Slaves in
 " their escape," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand
 seven hundred and seventy-one; also one other act, passed in
 the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-
 eight, entitled, ' An act to explain, alter, and amend an act,
 ' passed in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and
 ' ninety-six, entitled, " An act for the better order and government
 " of Slaves;" and also the thirty-first clause of an act, passed in
 the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, en-
 titled, ' An act to repeal an act, entitled, " An act to prevent
 " the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the possessors, and for
 " the preventing the transportation of Slaves by mortgagors and
 " tenants

“ tenants for life and years, and for regulating the abuses committed by Slaves ;” and also one other act, entitled, ‘ An act to inflict further and other punishments on the transgressors of two several acts, the one entitled, “ An act for the better order and government of Slaves,” and the other entitled, “ An act to prevent the enticing and inveigling of Slaves from the possessors, and for the preventing the transportation of Slaves by mortgagors and tenants for life or years, and for regulating abuses committed by Slaves ;” and also one other act, entitled, ‘ An act to repeal part of an act, entitled, “ An act for the better order and government of Slaves ;” and also of one other act, entitled, ‘ An act to prevent the enticing or inveigling of Slaves from the possessors, and for the preventing the transportation of Slaves by mortgagors and tenants for life and years, and for regulating abuses committed by Slaves ;’ and also part of one other act, entitled, ‘ An act to inflict further and other punishments on the transgressors of two several acts, the one entitled, “ An act for the better order and government of Slaves,” and the other entitled, “ An act to prevent the enticing and inveigling of Slaves from the possessors, and for the preventing the transportation of Slaves by mortgagors, and tenants for life and years, and for regulating abuses committed by Slaves ;” and also part of an act, entitled, ‘ An act for the better order and government of Slaves, and to prevent the hiding, concealing, inveigling, detaining, knowingly harbouring, or employing the Slaves of others ; and for preventing the transportation of Slaves by mortgagors, and tenants for life and years, and for regulating abuses committed by Slaves ;’ and also one other act, entitled, ‘ An act to repeal several acts, and clauses of acts, respecting Slaves, and for the better order and government of Slaves, and for other purposes,’ passed the twenty-second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven : And whereas it is necessary to make further and other provision for the better order and government of Slaves, that justice may hereafter be more effectually administered ; we therefore, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of this your Majesty’s island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted ; be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the said herein-before mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed,

Laws, and
clauses of laws,
to be repealed.

repealed, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; any thing in the said laws, and clauses or laws, or in any other law, contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Proprietors,
&c. to allot
land for every
Slave, and to
allow him to
cultivate it.

“ II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of Slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of Slavery: For which end and purpose, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, every master, owner, or possessor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he shall have in possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such Slave, and allow such Slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves, with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance: And also all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of land for every ten negroes that he shall be possessed of on such plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the Negro grounds aforesaid; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Slaves other-
wise provided
for.

“ III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such master, owner, or possessor, or his or her overseer or chief manager, shall personally inspect into the condition of such Negro grounds once in every month at the least, in order to see that the same are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath shall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed: And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns, in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such Slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and six pence currency per week for each Slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners oblig-
ed to provide
for disabled
Slaves.

“ IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor, of any Slave or Slaves, whether

whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such Slave or Slaves, on account of or by reason of such Slave or Slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such Slave or Slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such Slave or Slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of Ten Pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any White Person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm Slave or Slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse for the maintenance of such Slave or Slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of said parish; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ V. And, for the better encouragement of Slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, be it further enacted
 C c by Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.

by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of Slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each Slave they shall be possessed of, proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such Slaves resides, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds.

Owners to instruct Slave in the Christian Religion.

“ VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of Slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their Slaves in the principles of the Christian Religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a Deity and the Christian Faith.

Owners to give in an account of provision ground.

“ VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, or possessor of Slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their Slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds for every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground provisions, over and above the Negro-grounds, upon such plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and, where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the Slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each Slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry, as aforesaid; and shall likewise, at the same time, declare, on oath, that he has inspected the Negro-grounds (where such grounds are allotted) of such plantation, pen, or settlement, according to the direction of this act.

Premium to Slaves for informing on runaways, &c.

“ VIII. And, in order to encourage Slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every Slave or Slaves that shall take up any runaway Slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway Slave or Slaves, so that such runaway Slave or Slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or owners; every such Slave or Slaves so informing shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall, in reason and justice, think just and reasonable,

and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding Twenty Shillings.

“ IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave or Slaves shall kill or take any Slave or Slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such Slave or Slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such Slave or Slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be re-imbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

The killing of
apprehending
rebellious
Slaves reward-
ed.

“ X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any Slave or Slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any Slave or Slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and upon conviction shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months for each and every Slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the same: And, in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such Slave or Slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary for the future protection of such Slave or Slaves, to declare him, her, or them free, and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever: And in all such cases the court are hereby empowered and authorised, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said Slave or Slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said Slave or Slaves, so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case any Slave or Slaves shall suffer any before described mutilations, such Slave or Slaves,

Persons mutilating Slaves
fined and imprisoned.

Mutilated
Slaves, in certain
cases, de-
clared free.

on

on his, her, or their application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view and certain conviction of the fact, to send such Slave or Slaves to the nearest workhouse where such offence shall be committed; and such Slave or Slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of such parish, until such time as there may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish; which justices and vestry so met are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such Slave or Slaves: And the said justices and vestry so met are hereby directed and empowered to make further and full enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of such Slave or Slaves; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners; the expence of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed: And in case the owner or owners of such Slave or Slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges of such before mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such Slave or Slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits: And the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated Slave or Slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated Slave or Slaves for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such Slave or Slaves.

Justices to en-
quire into such
mutilations,
and prosecute
the offenders.

Owners sued
for costs.

Justices to is-
sue their war-
rants to bring
mutilated
Slaves before
them.

“ XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or probable intelligence from any Slave or otherwise, that any Slave or Slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such Slave or Slaves so mutilated are confined, and such Slave or Slaves to release and bring before such justice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorized to send such Slave or Slaves to the workhouse for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry shall be made into the fact according to law.

“ XII. And

“ XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter shall wantonly, willingly, or blood-mindedly, kill, or cause to be killed, any Negro or other Slave, such person so offending shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly, for the said offence: Provided always, That such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

Persons wilfully killing Slaves to suffer death.

“ XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this Act, any person or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, maltreat, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any Slave or Slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize, or courts of quarter sessions in this island; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they, shall suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, or both, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such Slave or Slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

Persons cruelly beating Slaves, how punishable.

“ XIV. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishment, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time, and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer of such plantation or settlement, having such Slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a Slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under the penalty of Ten Pounds for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

Arbitrary punishment restrained.

“ XV. And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed Slaves, and such as are apt to abscond

Putting iron collars or other chains

on Slaves prohibited.

abscond from their owners, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, round the necks of such Slaves an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks to prevent the future desertion of such Slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds, punish any Negro or other Slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of such Slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such Slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such Slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorised, directed, and required, under the penalty of One hundred Pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights to be immediately taken off from the Slave or Slaves wearing or bearing the same.

Justices and vestry to support disabled Negroes.

How such Slaves are disposed of.

“ XVI. And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of Slaves and other circumstances, and from the manumission of Negro, Mulatto, and other Slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this island, of such Negro, Mulatto, or other Slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid: And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such Slave lived or resided; or if a person of Colour made free, where the person or persons who manumitted

misfed or fet free fuch perfon of colour refided before his deceafe, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforefaid : And the magiftrates and veftries of the feveral towns and parifhes as aforefaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all fuch humane and falutary regulations for the purpofes aforefaid, as to them fhall appear neceffary and expedient.

“ XVII. And whereas it is abfolutely neceffary that the Slaves in this ifland fhould be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due fubordination to the White People in general, and as much as in the power of the legiflature, all means and opportunities of Slaves committing rebellious confpiracies and other crimes to the ruin and deftruction of the White People and others in this ifland, prevented, and that proper punifhments fhould be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, That no Slave, fuch only excepted as are going with firewood, grafs, fruit, provifion, or fmall ftock and other goods, which they may lawfully fell, to market, and returning therefrom, fhall hereafter be fuffered or permitted to go out of his or her mafter or owner’s plantation or fettlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unlefs fuch Slave fhall have a ticket from his mafter, owner, employer, or overfeer, expreffing particularly the time of fuch Slave’s fetting out, and where he or fhe is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding Forty Shillings for every Slave fo offending, to be recovered from the mafter, owner, employer, or overfeer, in a fummery manner, before any one juftice of the peace, by warrant of diftreff, complaint being made to him upon oath, unlefs the mafter, owner, employer, or overfeer, of fuch Slave fhall prove, upon oath, before any juftice of the peace of the parifh or precinct where fuch mafter, owner, employer, or overfeer, may or fhall live or happen to be, that he did give the faid Slave fuch ticket as aforefaid, or that fuch Slave went away without his confent ; and if fuch juftice fhall refufe or neglect his duty, either in caufing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforefaid, on the owner, overfeer, or any other perfon, who fhall fuffer a Slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforefaid, every juftice fo offending fhall forfeit the fum of Five Pounds ; any law, cuftom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Owners muſt not allow their Slaves to travel without tickets,

under penalty.

Penalty on neglect of duty.

“ XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, That for the future, all Slaves in this ifland fhall be allowed the ufual

Slaves allowed holidays.

usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: Provided, That at every such respective season, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any Slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending shall forfeit the sum of Five Pounds.

Slaves allowed
one day in
every fortnight.

“ XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their Slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays hereinbefore mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such Slaves.

Time allowed
for breakfast,
&c.

“ XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every Field Slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no Slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such Slaves.

Penalty for
suffering unlawful
assemblies of slaves.

“ XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange Slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their, care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate

strate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said Slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, pay a fine of Fifty Pounds to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made, upon oath, before any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

“ XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be, and are hereby empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noise, as before mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Civil or military officers to suppress such assemblies.

“ XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at Negro dances, and nightly meetings of the Slaves of different plantations, when such Slaves are generally intoxicated; and as it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of Negroes; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or in his absence, any book-keeper, or other white person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall suffer any Slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person so offending, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of assize, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence: And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the Slaves of such plantation or settlement only for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act,

Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned.

Provide.

to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, That such amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

Negro burials
to be in day-
time.

“ XXIV. And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among Negro and other Slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Negro burials shall in future take place in the day-time only, so that the same may be ended before sunset; and if any master, owner, or possessor of Slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any Slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of Fifty Pounds.

Imprisonment
for Negroes
suffering as-
semblies at
their houses.

“ XXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, Free Negro, or Mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of Slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, Free Negro, or Mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months: Provided nevertheless, that information thereof shall be given, on oath, within five days of such unlawful meeting.

Slaves not to
keep fire-arms.

“ XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, slugs, or ball, such Slave being thereof convicted, before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.

Punishment on
Slaves offering
violence to
Whites.

“ XXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such Slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict; provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners persons or goods.

Punishment
on Slaves har-
bouring
Slaves.

“ XXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any Slave or Slaves who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any run-away Slave or Slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the Slave-court herein-after appointed, and on conviction suffer such punishment as the justices of the said court shall think proper to inflict, not extending to life or limb.

“ XXIX. And

“ XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island to suffer Slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the publick what Slaves shall be deemed such; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any Slave or Slaves who shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and who shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market, shall be deemed a runaway. Who are deemed run-
aways.

“ XXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such Slave or Slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such Slave or Slaves, the sum of Ten Shillings, and no more, besides mile-money, at the rate of One Shilling per mile for the first five miles, and Sixpence per mile afterwards: Provided such Slave or Slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten days without the privity, knowledge, or consent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white person, residing on the plantation or settlement to which Slave or Slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such Slave or Slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other white person as aforesaid, if the party taking up such Slave or Slaves shall require it: but it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any Slave or Slaves that usually reside in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually run away or absent from their owner, employer, or manager's service ten days, shall be entitled to the reward of Ten Shillings, although the Slave or Slaves should not be eight miles distant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend to an allowance of the said sum of Ten Shillings and mile money, in addition to the sum allowed to Maroon Negroes for apprehending runaways; and provided also, that it is not hereby intended to deprive the said Maroons of their legal and established reward of Forty Shillings for each Negro. Reward for
securing run-
aways.

“ XXXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the person or persons so apprehending such Slave or Slaves, shall convey him, her, or them, to their respective owner, employer, How run-
aways are to be
disposed of.

employer, or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if any workhouse is established there; and in case of there being no workhouse to the next gaol, in case the owner, employer, or manager of such Slave or Slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case the gaol or workhouse keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such Slave or Slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such Slave or Slaves the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more, for each Slave so delivered, under the penalty of Five Pounds: Provided nevertheless, That if such Slave or Slaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouse by any White Person, Free Negro, Free Mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or workhouse keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of Five Pounds, to file in his office and produce whenever thereunto required by the owner or possessor of such Slave or Slaves), that the Slave or Slaves so apprehended was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement, to which such Slave or Slaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that such Slave or Slaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such Slave or Slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the said Slave or Slaves had been carried first to the owner, employer, or manager, of such Slave or Slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager, shall be in the parish in which such Slave or Slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

Time of tickets limited.

“ XXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be granted to any Slave or Slaves for any time exceeding one calendar month.

Account of births and deaths must be given in.

“ XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after the owner, overseer, or manager, of every plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the Slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered

recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen, or other settlement.

“ XXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or possessor, of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

Overseer to pay if his neglect.

“ XXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of the Slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of One hundred Pounds for every neglect: And in case it shall appear to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural encrease in the number of Slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of three pounds for every Slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living, after deducting the decrease; and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due, of the sum so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such encrease, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

Surgeons to give in an account of Slaves dying.

Encouragement for encrease of Slaves.

XXXVI. And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the encrease and protection of Negro infants, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every female Slave, who shall have six children living, shall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and the owner or possessor of every such female Slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female Slave, any thing in the act commonly called the Poll Tax Law, or any other of the tax laws of this island

Further encouragement for encrease of Slaves.

passed, or annually to be passed, to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction shall be made for all such female Slaves from the taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of the justices and vestry at the same time, and in manner as directed in the case of an annual increase of the number of Slaves as aforesaid: Provided nevertheless, That proof be given, on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother, are living, but also that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance.

Penalty on
Free Negroes,
&c. granting
tickets to
Slaves.

“ XXXVII. And whereas, the more effectually to conceal runaway Slaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, Free Negroes, or Free Mulattoes, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any Indian, Free Negro, or Mulatto, granting or giving such ticket with such intent, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize in this island where the offence shall be committed; and on conviction shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or such other punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

Whites grant-
ing such tick-
ets punishable.

“ XXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any White Person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any Slave or Slaves, before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such White Person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the supreme court of judicature, or either of the assize courts of this island, where the offence shall be committed, and on conviction shall suffer such punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

Keepers of
gaol, &c. to
advertise run-
aways,

“ XXXIX. And, to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway Slaves may have a due knowledge where such Slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or gaol in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such Slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouses or gaol-keepers in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertise in the Gazette of Saint

Jago

Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway Slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of Ten Pounds for every Slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and for the expence of such advertisement they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers, shall and may, and they are hereby authorized, to charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway Slaves, so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse or gaol-keeper to detain and keep in his or their custody such runaway Slave or Slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such Slave or Slaves into custody, with two shillings and sixpence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising, after the rate above-mentioned, and sixpence for every twenty-four hours such Slave or Slaves shall have been in custody for maintenance, and two-pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nourishment where necessary, and also the charges of advertising above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such Slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

detain them
until paid
their fees,

attest the
charges for
mile-money,
&c.

“ XL. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of Ten Pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every Slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

allow them
provisions,

“ XLI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him

and not hire
them out,

him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any Slave or Slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging to, or in the possession of, any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such Slave or Slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such Slave or Slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such Slaves shall be, and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of Fifty Pounds.

Certain run-
aways, how
liable to be
punished.

“ XLII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such Slave or Slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

Runaways
absent six
months, how
punishable.

“ XLIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such Slave being duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to be confined to hard labour for such time as the court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

Slaves guilty
of obeah, how
punishable.

“ XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of Negroes going under the appellation of obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the Devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any Slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct; any thing in this or any other act to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Slaves at-
tempting to
poison, to suf-
fer death.

“ XLV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug in the practice of obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said Slave or Slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being Slaves),

Slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this or any other act to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ XLVI. And whereas great number of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by Negro and other Slaves in so secret and private a manner that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts agreeably to their crimes, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person who shall have the overlooking or employing of such Slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such Negro or other Slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such Slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such Negro or other Slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.

“ XLVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcass of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such Negro or other Slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.

“ XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how and in what manner Slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which

Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.

they may hereafter commit, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any White Person or Persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any Slave or Slaves, that shall subject such Slave or Slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of Slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if upon examination it appears probable that the Slave or Slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter sessions are usually held, and where there are no quarter sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices, so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and empanelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor, of the Slave or Slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted), personally to be and appear before the said justices at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend under the penalty of Five Pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said Slave or Slaves, so complained of, to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid shall compose a jury to try the said Slave or Slaves, and shall by the said justices (the charge or accusation being first read) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the

the evidence, unanimously find the said Slave or Slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they, stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour for any limited time not exceeding two years, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with child only excepted, whose execution shall be respited until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court for the purpose of enquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any Slave or Slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour as aforesaid, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a Slave-court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other respects as the three justices associated and met as herein-before mentioned are by this act directed to proceed in the trial of Slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse, within the said parish or precinct, of all and every Slave and Slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the said court of quarter sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn, as they shall appear, to try all and every such Slave and Slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

“ XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter sessions, to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of Five Pounds, to be and appear at the said Slave-court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices upon any such trial where any Slave or Slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure

Jurors to serve,
under penalty.

pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any Slave or Slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such Slave or Slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

Three justices
to form a
court.

“ L. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any Slave or Slaves for any crime or offence that shall subject such Slave or Slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour as aforesaid; and that upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the said jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

How execu-
tions are per-
formed.

“ LI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish, and with due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy marshal that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of Five Pounds, and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other, and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct: And provided also, That where several Slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

Slaves giving
false evidence
how punished.

“ LII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, in case any Slave or Slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such Slave or Slaves, being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

How fees of
Slaves dis-
charged by
proclamation
are paid.

“ LIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, where any Slave or Slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy marshal or workhouse keeper shall be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due him or them for such Slave or Slaves at

at the time of such discharge from the public, upon application and due proof made in the most solemn manner to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such Slave or Slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy marshal or work-house-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions equal to what is allowed by this law.

“ LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of Slaves for any crime that shall subject any Slave or Slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of Twenty Pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.

“ LV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any Slave or Slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor, of such Slave or Slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attornies, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Five days notice of trial to be given.

“ LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any Slave or Slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such Slave or Slaves, shall also enquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer, of the said Slave or Slaves ought to receive for such Slave or Slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each Slave sentenced as aforesaid.

Slaves executed or transported to be valued.

H h

“ LVII. And

Such valuation
to be paid by
receiver gene-
ral.

“ LVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any Slave or Slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such Slave or Slaves shall be paid for by the receiver general of this island, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such Slave or Slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy marshal shall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver general for the use of the public.

Slaves return-
ing from trans-
portation suf-
fer death.

“ LVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other Slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such Negro or other Slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Punishment
for inferior
crimes.

“ LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by Slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner by order of the magistrates, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such Slave or Slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such Slave or Slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such Slave or Slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such Slave or Slaves shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

“ LX. And

“ LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other Slaves: And whereas there now are many such Slaves in the possession of the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouses in this island to great advantage; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway Negroes or other Slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors and guardians paying unto the provost marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the said runaway Slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol agreeably to this or any former act; and the provost marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply with such requisitions, under the penalty of Fifty Pounds.

Provost marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse-keeper.

“ LXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway Slave shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

Runaways to be committed to workhouse.

“ LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffering Negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; in order, therefore, to remedy the same, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of every plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any Slave or Slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time as the justices and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose, and that such horses, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal respectively, forfeit the sum of Thirty Pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish

Horses, &c. belonging to Slaves, to be taken up and sold.

parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witnesses or witnesses; which penalty shall be to the use of the person informing.

Penalty for
permitting
Slaves to keep
horses.

“ LXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any Slave or Slaves to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in case of so doing, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of Thirty Pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

Oath to be
made that
Slaves have no
property.

“ LXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their Slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings, so given in, do belong to any Negro or other Slave; and that such person so giving in, or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their possession, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any Slave or Slaves; and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do, every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of Thirty Pounds, to be recovered in the same summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein-before mentioned.

Slaves not
to purchase
horses, &c.

“ LXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, no Negro or other Slave in this island shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed of as herein before mentioned: And if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding to any Negro or other Slave, or to any person in trust for such Negro or other Slave, every such person shall, for every such horse, mare, mule, or gelding so sold or given, forfeit the sum of Thirty Pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust for any Negro or other Slave, shall forfeit the sum of Thirty Pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner and disposed of as herein-before mentioned; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

“ LXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in future, whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace against any Slave, if the said Slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such Slave shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and if he, she, or they, do not carry the said Slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law on the said warrant; and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such Slave wilfully detained or concealed said Slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum of One hundred Pounds.

Penalty for
concealing
Slaves against
whom war-
rants are is-
sued.

“ LXVII. And whereas several Slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other Slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same: And whereas there is reason to suspect that such Slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting such deserters: For remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any Slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off this island, in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting to any other Slave or Slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

Slaves at-
tempting to
depart this
island, how
punishable.

“ LXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, Free Negro, or Mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting any Slave or Slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court, or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, Free Negro, or Mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at

Penalty for
assisting Slaves
to go off the
island.

large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Penalty on
Whites for
aiding Slaves
to go off the
island.

“ LXXIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any Slave or Slaves in going off this island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of One hundred Pounds for each Slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at such suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprise.

Persons so of-
fending to be
proceeded a-
gainst.

“ LXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting such Slave or Slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Overseers not
to leave estates
on holidays.

“ LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management on the respective seasons allowed for Negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; in order therefore to prevent the like for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays hereinbefore mentioned to be allowed to Slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of Five Pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves not to
be mutilated.

“ LXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice of the peace, sitting on the trial of any Slave or Slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any Slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

“ LXXIII. And

“ LXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Negro or other Slave, who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the term of two years, or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such Negro or other Slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.

“ LXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper, shall willingly or negligently suffer any Slave or Slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such Slave or Slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable, or workhouse-keeper who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of Twenty Pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to sue for the value of the same.

Penalty for suffering Slaves to escape.

“ LXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Negro or other Slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other white person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any Negro or other Slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.

“ LXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Justices to do their duty in martial law.

“ LXXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at Slave courts, and every person and persons whose presence may be requisite at the examination of any Slave or Slaves, or upon the trial of any Slave or Slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any

Jurors, &c. protected.

any justice of the peace, and all and every Slave and Slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all mesne or judicial process whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, such examinations or trial, and that such Slaves shall not be subject to be levied on.

How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.

“ LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not exceeding Twenty Pounds, be recovered in a summary manner before any two of his Majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and if exceeding Twenty Pounds, to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature of this island, or in either of the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, wager of law, or *non vult ulterius prosequi*, shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to the parish where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.

Former acts repealed.

“ LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, an act passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, entitled, ‘ An act to revive and continue an act, entitled, “ An act to repeal an act, entitled, *An act to repeal several acts, and clauses of acts, respecting Slaves, and for the better order and government of Slaves, and for other purposes*; and also to repeal the several acts, and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act entitled as aforesaid;” ‘ and for consolidating and bringing into one act the several laws relating to Slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of Slaves charged with capital offences; and for other purposes,’ shall be repealed and made void to all intents and purposes; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: Provided nevertheless, That all crimes committed by Slaves during the time the said herein-before mentioned act, passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, entitled, ‘ An act to revive and continue an act, entitled, “ An act to repeal an act, entitled, *An act to repeal several acts, and clauses of acts, respecting Slaves, and for the better order and government of Slaves, and for other purposes*; and also to repeal the several acts, and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act entitled as aforesaid;” ‘ and for consolidating and bringing into one act the several laws relating to Slaves,

Proviso.

‘ Slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for
 ‘ altering the mode of trial of Slaves charged with capital offences;
 ‘ and for other purposes;’ as also one other act, passed in the
 year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight,
 entitled, ‘ An act to repeal an act, to repeal an act, entitled,
 “ An act to repeal several acts, and clauses of acts, respecting
 “ Slaves, and for the better order and government of Slaves, and
 “ for other purposes;” ‘ and also to repeal the several acts, and
 ‘ clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act entitled as afore-
 ‘ said, and for consolidating and bringing into one act the several
 ‘ laws relating to Slaves, and for giving them further protection
 ‘ and security; for altering the mode of trial of Slaves charged
 ‘ with capital offences; and for other purposes;’ were in force,
 shall be heard, tried, and determined, and such Slaves punished
 in the manner directed by the said two last-mentioned acts, and
 as if the same were now in full force; and for which purposes the
 said two recited acts only shall be considered as still in force.

“ LXXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
 That this act, and every clause, matter, and thing, therein con-
 tained, shall continue and be in force from the passing thereof,
 until the thirty-first day of December, which will be in the year
 of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, and no longer.

Continuance
of this act.

PASSED THE COUNCIL,
this 10th Day of March 1792.
JAMES JONES, CL. CO.

I CONSENT,
this 10th Day of March 1792.
ADAM WILLIAMSON.

PASSED THE ASSEMBLY,
this 2d Day of March 1792.
S.W. HAUGHTON, Speaker.

VERA COPIA EXTUR.

James Jones, Secy.”

Then the Witness was asked,

Are you a native of Great Britain?

Yes.

How long did you reside in the island of Jamaica?

I went to Jamaica in the year 1766, and continued there till
 the year 1791, except for about seven or eight months in the
 year 1772, when I made a voyage to England.

Did you execute any public offices during the time of your
 residence in Jamaica?

K k

In

In 1774 and 1775 I executed the office of receiver-general; and from the year 1784 till I left the island in 1791, I executed the office of secretary of the island.

Before the time that you filled these offices were you particularly conversant in the business, care, and management of plantations?

I was joined with other gentlemen in the care of plantations all the time that I was in the island, and excepting the times I was in town executing those offices, my business was taking care of and managing estates.

Had you any considerable number of Negroes under your care in the situations you have mentioned?

I think the greatest number that ever I had under my care at one time, was about 3000 upon half a dozen estates, always joined with other gentlemen.

Have you any estate of your own now in the island of Jamaica? None.

In what part of the island were the estates, of which you have stated yourself to have had the charge, situate?

They were in different parts of the island, but mostly in the County of Cornwall, the leewardmost part of the island.

Did the care of Negroes form a principal object of the management of the estates you had in charge?

It certainly did. I always considered it as the first object to take care of the Negroes.

Were they treated with great humanity and tenderness upon the plantations with which you was immediately conversant?

They certainly were.

Had you opportunities of knowing if they had been treated otherwise?

I must, because I visited them frequently with that view. I lived upon some of them.

Do you know of any provisions by law, prior to the passing of the Act of Assembly which you have given in, which had for their object the protection and security of the Negroes?

I do not recollect particularly, because, I believe, the purport of this law is consolidating the great variety of acts of Parliament into one, to make it more intelligible; there is no doubt there are new provisions in this act that probably do not exist in any of the former ones; I cannot exactly point them out, not having lately read

read all the old acts of Assembly for that purpose. I have read over some of the late acts, but I see little or nothing enacted in them but what was the universal practice before making it law, if it was not law before.

Did the situation of Negroes in Jamaica appear to you in general to be comfortable?

I think in general, when they were well-disposed, they were always comfortable; it was their own fault when they were not so.

Have they separate allotments of land made to them for their maintenance and provision?

They always have; only on many estates there is such a quantity of waste land, that they take any quantity they please, and therefore there is no occasion to allot them a particular spot, equal to what the law gives them.

Is there any adequate allowance made upon most of the estates with which you are acquainted?

Upon all the estates that I am acquainted with there is always enough.

What time is allowed the Negroes for the cultivation of those lands which they hold thus separately?

In general there is one day in a fortnight, exclusive of Sundays, except in crop time; but to make up for that, on most estates that I know, there are a few days at the beginning of the crop given to Negroes to put them in order, and a few days at the end to make up for their not having any allowance during crop.

In what manner are new Negroes, upon their arrival in this island, treated?

They are treated with a great deal of care, almost like children, till they become acquainted with the country, and get ground and houses of their own. A Negro is not considered to be seasoned to the country, and to do the work of an able Negro, till he has been perhaps three or four years in the country.

How are they taught to do the work they are required to perform?

They are taught by Negroes; by seeing the other Negroes work they naturally are disposed to join them more than the master orders them.

Are they not put under the care of the head Negroes, and gradually habituated to the business they are required to perform?

They

They generally are so, especially if they have their countrymen upon the estate, that can speak their own language; but it is the business of the overseer to pay particular attention to them.

Are the Negroes permitted to enjoy, for their own benefit, the produce of the estates allowed to them in severalty?

Certainly; every thing that is produced by their own labour, on their own grounds, is their own property, and they sell a great number of provisions, and small stock.

Is that to any considerable amount in point of value?

I fancy, often to a very great amount. I recollect once purchasing from one Negro, for new Negroes that were upon the estate, provisions to the amount of upwards of 20 l.; and I suppose he sold a great deal more at the Negro market.

Where do they dispose of those provisions?

At the town and shipping places; and it is very common, when the estate is at a distance from any market, to lend them mules to carry their provisions to market, out of crop time, when the mules are of no use.

Do you know of any instance of any complaint being preferred by a Negro of a violation of this property of theirs, raised from the produce of their separate lands?

I never heard of such complaint, except as between one Negro and another.

But as against their master?

No, never.

Are they permitted to raise and keep every species of animal except horses?

Yes, upon most estates; some estates may not have pasture.

Do you know why they are precluded from keeping and breeding of horses?

To prevent them travelling at night to any great distance.

Is that a regulation of late date?

Of late date;—I believe within these eight or ten years.

In respect to the Negro population, are the births equal to the deaths?

No, certainly not;—at least not in general; there are exceptions.

To what causes do you attribute the difference?

A great variety of causes;—the inequality of the number of the sexes, their debauched lives; but above all, a number of diseases that are peculiar to the Negro.

What is the average decrease arising from these causes?

I should suppose two or three per cent. or perhaps more, when there is a great proportion of new Negroes.

Are many Negroes lost by hurricanes?

There was a number lost in the hurricanes in 1780 and 1781, both I think; but a great many more died in consequence of the effects of the hurricane.

What were those effects?

In the first place, a scarcity of provisions; then being exposed to the weather for some months before they could get their houses put in order; and eating green food, from all the ripe provisions being destroyed by the hurricanes.

Are most of the estates in Jamaica with which you are acquainted, full handed?

No, far from it. I do not think that one estate in twenty may be considered as full handed, as far as my knowledge goes.

Is the island of Jamaica cultivated to the extent to which its cultivation is capable of being carried by the farther importation of Negroes?

Not by a great deal.

What proportion does the patented land not brought into cultivation, bear to the land in actual cultivation?

I really cannot say that ever I heard that stated; but I know from my knowledge of the island, there is not half cultivated of what is capable of cultivation; and what is cultivated, is not yet brought into a high state of cultivation.

Is then a farther importation of Negroes necessary for the purpose of completing the cultivation of that land which is already in a state of partial cultivation?

Certainly.

What is the land not already in cultivation capable, generally, of producing?

There is a great quantity capable of being converted into sugar estates; but by far the greatest quantity of uncultivated land is better adapted for pastures, pens as we call them, coffee, provisions, and other small settlements of that kind.

Have you made any experiments with the plow in Jamaica?

It has been used upon most estates that I was concerned for; it is pretty generally used where it can be used; but there are a vast number of situations where you cannot use the plow.

Do you conceive that the plow is used to the extent to which it can be conveniently used in the island of Jamaica?

I think it is very nearly so; I am not sure whether it is quite so.

What particular part of the labour of cultivation is saved to the Negro by the use of the plow?

I think it makes the labour much easier to them, by loosening the ground, but I do not think it diminishes the number of Negroes necessary for carrying on that estate, because the greatest number of Negroes are wanted in crop-time. There is another thing; to use the plow requires a great number of cattle, of Steers for that purpose solely: of course it is necessary to have pastures for those additional quantities of stock; and the fencing and keeping these pastures clean requires as much Negro labour, I should think, as what is saved by the use of the plow; but it certainly makes the work much lighter for the Negroes where it can be used.

You are understood therefore to say, that the more general introduction of the plow would diminish the severity of Negro labour, but would by no means diminish the necessary number of Negroes to be employed upon an estate at certain seasons of the year, and particularly in crop-time?

That is my opinion.

Is it not the effect of the plow to exhaust and impoverish, in a course of time, the land where it is used?

I believe it does, by exposing the soil to the sun; but it is mostly used upon estates where they use a great deal of manure.

What number of hours in the day are the Negroes usually required to work?

It is a little different at different times in the year; there is about two hours difference, I think, in the length of the days between the longest and the shortest day; but I should suppose about ten hours, except in crop-time.

Do the Negroes complain of the increased quantity of labour in the crop-time, or have they any indulgences at that time which compensate the increased quantity of their labour?

They are always healthiest in crop-time, and they have as much
cane

cane liquor, and canes themselves, as they chuse to consume. They appear to be the healthiest at that time.

Is particular attention paid to the health of the Negroes?

There is the greatest attention upon every estate that I know. A doctor attends every estate; and there are medicines generally provided by the estate, over and above what the doctor furnishes.

Is particular attention paid to women during their pregnancy?

As soon as it is known that they are with child they never work hard, they are put to easy work with the children; commonly they do no more than what is supposed to be necessary for their health.

Are they ever punished during that time?

I never knew of an instance.

You have stated the attention that is paid to women during their pregnancy,—is equal attention paid to all sick persons upon the plantations?

They are always sent to the hot house or hospital when they are sick, and the doctor generally has stated times for visiting them, probably twice or three times a week; in particular cases he is sent for instantly.

Is the diet allowed them proper for persons in their situation?

They have flour, and in most hot houses they have wine, and every thing that the doctor orders; rice, sugar, and every thing that is prescribed; and in particular disorders, convalescents are fed from the kitchen with nourishing diet.

What kind of diet are they usually allowed in times of health?

The different productions of the country that come on at different seasons; there is a vast variety of them. The master gives them herrings, and at other times salt-fish;—at Christmas they generally get an ox killed for them upon most estates.

Have they rum or sugar ever allowed them?

They have always rum and sugar allowed them in holing time, particularly if they happen to get wet; and when they are hard worked it is served out to them.

What attention is paid to the aged and infirm Negroes who are incapable of work?

They

They have the same allowances as the working Negroes, without any exception, the same quantity of cloaths, and every thing.

Then you are understood to say, that they are treated in all respects the same as the working Negroes?

Yes; exactly so.

Do you ever remember, in all the time you resided in Jamaica, a single instance where a Negro became, from age or sickness, incapable of work, who has been discarded and neglected to be provided for by his master?

I never knew an instance;—I never heard of an instance.

Do you conceive that the new settled estates in Jamaica can be carried on without annual importations of fresh Negroes?

I do not think they can.—In the first place, I do not suppose one estate in twenty has the number, at present, which they think necessary; they are weak handed at present; besides that, they could not even keep up their present number without an importation.

Are you of opinion that the cultivation of the island of Jamaica could possibly be carried on by European labour, or by the labour of White people?

Certainly it is not possible; a White man cannot stand the sun there.

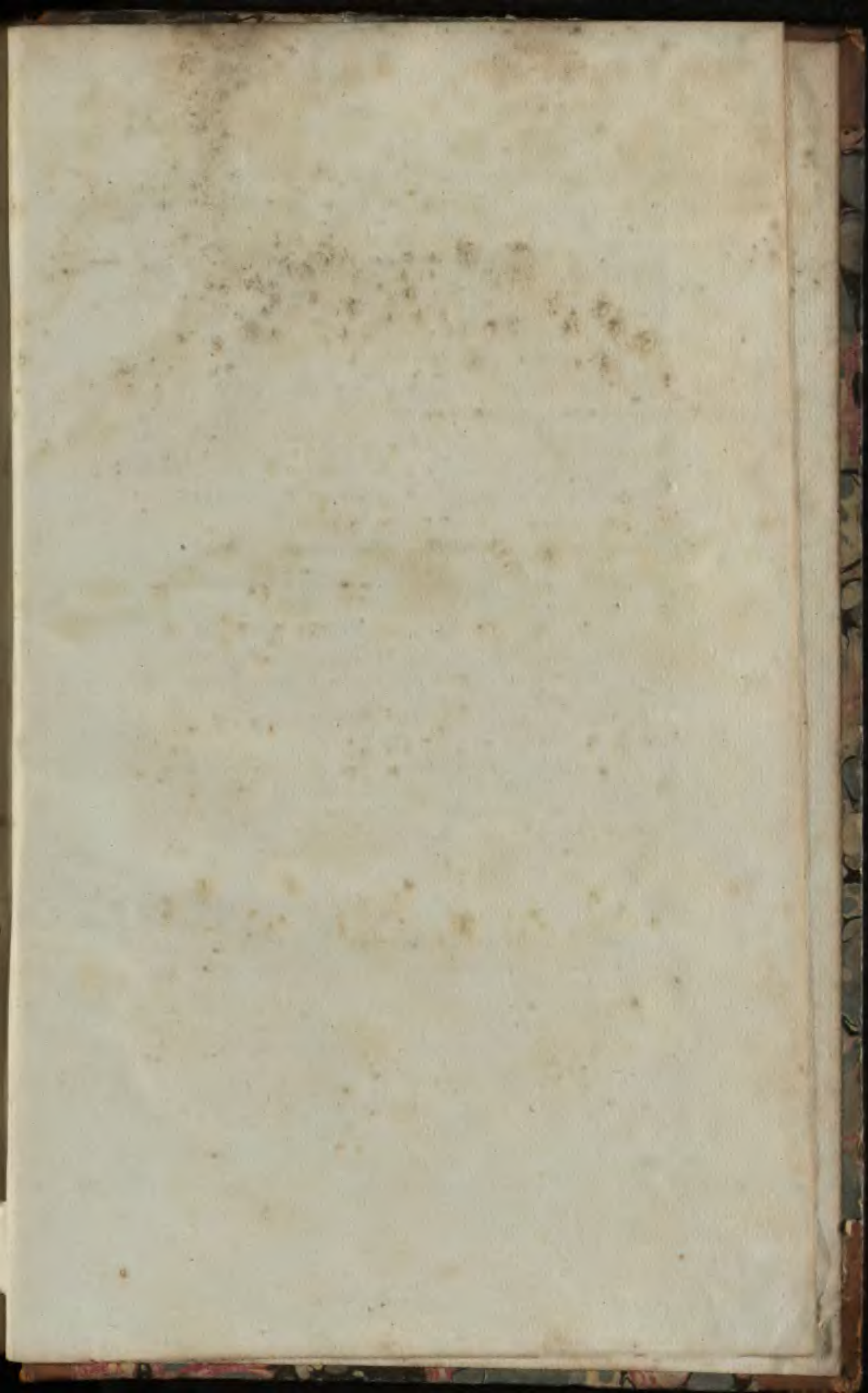
What do you conceive would be the effect of the abolition of the Slave Trade upon the Negroes at present in Jamaica?

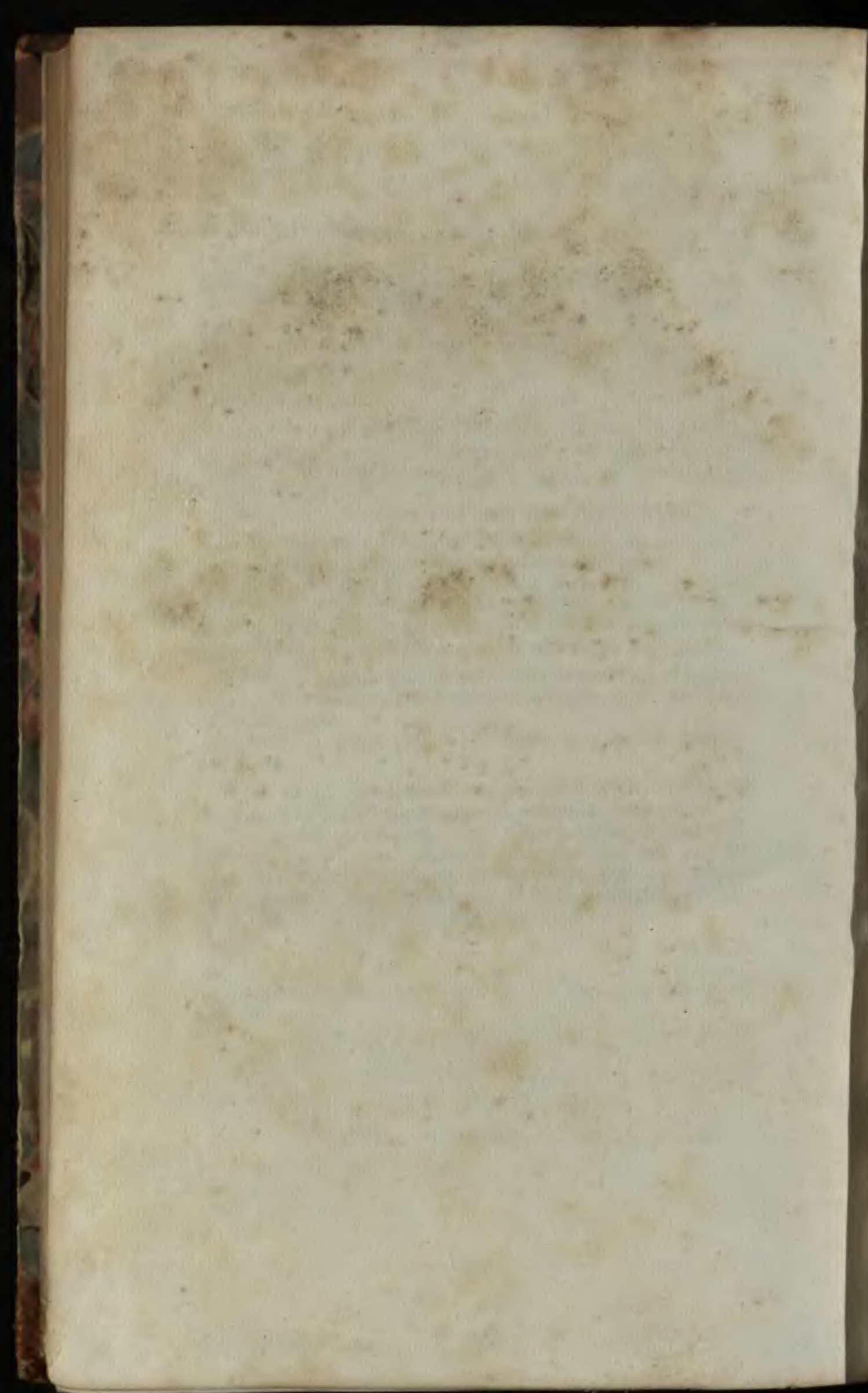
I believe they would be very much dispirited when they saw they were to get no assistance, if at the same time they saw that the estate was deficient in strength, and that it would be a temptation that it would be very difficult to resist, to the masters to overwork them, to preserve themselves from ruin.

You are understood therefore, that the stock of Slaves upon the plantation would be considerably dispirited if they understood they were to receive no additional assistance to carry on the work of the plantation?

They certainly would. It is a very common thing upon estates for the Negroes to apply to their masters to purchase more Slaves; particularly when there is a great inequality among the sexes, the men want their masters to purchase wives for them.

The witness was directed to withdraw.





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